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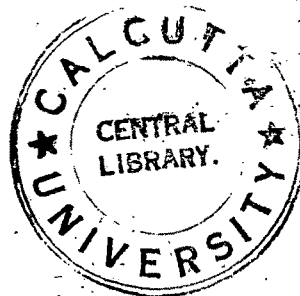
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JULY, 1952

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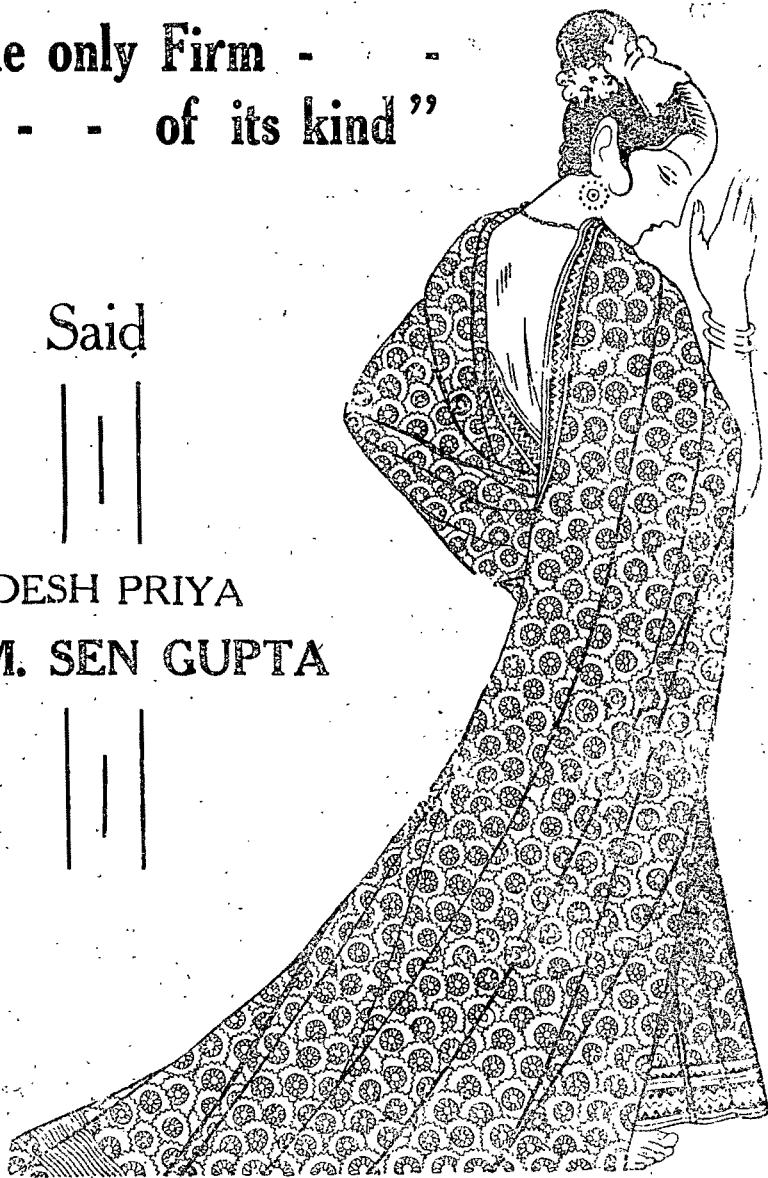
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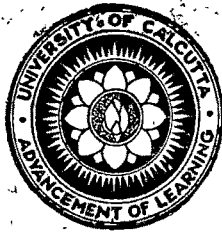
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JULY, 1952

INDUS PEOPLE AND INDUS RELIGION INDUS PEOPLE (III)

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M. A.

The second type of long-headed skulls with Proto-Nordic affinities

It has been stated above that two types of long-headed skulls have been found at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. One of these two types is held to represent the Mediterranean race, or to be more precise, one branch of the race. This type called the Indus type by Dr. Guha has been discussed. The second type of skulls, provisionally classified by Sewell and Guha as Proto-Australoid, is held by Guha who has revised his opinion, to have Nordic affinities. Descriptions of the second type of skulls and Guha's reasons for revising his earlier opinion have been given. It is necessary to draw attention to some important issues raised by the identification of these skulls and Guha's attempt to set the type in its proper place in the scheme of racial composition of the Indian people. The first point is that these skulls have been found at the lower strata at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. The second point is that in Guha's opinion this second long-headed strain forms one of the constituents of the so-called Proto-Nordic race represented by the Hindukush tribes, Kashmiris etc. The third point is that in his opinion the advent of these Proto-Nordics synchronises with the "Aryan" invasion of India. The fourth point which clarifies the third point, is that he suggests that these Proto-Nordics probably formed a part of the same wave (of Aryans) which swept over the Punjab.

It has been pointed out that the discovery of these skulls at lower strata at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa implies that the race represented by them was long established at these sites. It may be assumed that it was present in the Indus Valley during the whole or greater part of the period of the development of the Indus Civilisation. The identification of the Makran B skull as being of Nordic affinities and similar to the second long-headed strain means that this race was spread from Harappa in the Montgomery district in Lahore division right up to the borders of Iran. The next point relates to the racial affinities of this race and their implications. Guha's generalisations are sweeping. The Hindukush tribes are regarded as Proto-Nordics on account of skin and eye colours, that is, on account of the presence of a certain percentage of blondes among them. Their advent is held to be synchronous with the Aryan invasion without any satisfactory evidence. Lastly, it is supposed that the Aryan invasion amounted really to a penetration into the Punjab by a body of ancestors of these tribes. These are pure assumptions based not on any kind of anthropological evidence but on the fact that the Hindukush tribes speak an Aryan language or dialects of it and on pre-conceived notions regarding the racial type of the Vedic Aryans. We need not concern ourselves here with these views. The important point that concerns us is Guha's hypothesis that the second long-headed strain among the Indus people was a constituent of the Aryan-speaking Proto-Nordic race. If this hypothesis is sincerely advanced its implications in regard to the identification of the racial elements among the Indus people and interpretation of the Indus culture, cannot be ignored. It follows necessarily from this hypothesis that an Aryan speaking race was long established in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period. This race spread from the Central Punjab to Iran.

Thus racially the Indus people would be linked to the Vedic people.

Alleged Proto-Nordic affinities of the Vedic Aryans.

The Proto-Nordic affinities of the second long-headed strain among the Indus people should be more carefully examined. Proto-Nordic affinities have been attributed not only to the second long-headed strain among the Indus people but also to the Vedic Aryans and to a number of the Hindukush tribes and to the Pathans (Red Kaffirs, Kalash, Khos, Pathans of Bajaur etc.).

Haddon has invented the term Proto-Nordic. He writes that it may be supposed that some of the earliest members of the northern groups of Neanthropic men (in Eastern Siberia) wandered afar at a time when they were still dolichocephalic and otherwise of undifferentiated type; they may be regarded as being of the stock from which the Proto-Nordics sprang. (Races, p. 98). The term Proto-Nordic he would prefer to apply to the descendants of the dolichocephalic steppefolk of eastern Asia and south Russia who spread westwards at various times and the term Nordic to the descendants of the Proto-Nordics in Northern Europe. (Ibid p. 57). The original home of the fair dolichos, known as Proto-Nordics, was the Western steppe lands; (Ibid. p. 84) north of the series of Western plateaux in Asia and Eastern Europe. In Asia the Kurds are regarded as descendants of the Proto-Nordic steppefolk who (western Kurds dolichocephalic, cephalic index 75, fair, blue eyes) have maintained their type in part and their language for more than 3300 years. (Ibid p. 96). The Kimmerians, Mandas and Medes are stated to have been essentially Proto-Nordics. (Ibid p. 97). The Kassites, identified with the Cossaei settled between Babylon and Media are believed to have been a mixed people with Proto-Nordic leadership (Ibid p. 107). The Hittites of Asia Minor are believed to have been influenced by Proto-Nordics. (Ibid. p. 90). The Sakas are held to have been led by a people who were mesocephalic with a low head, straight eyes and projecting chin, belonging essentially to the Proto-Nordic steppefolk. (Ibid. p. 112). The original home of the Indo-Afghan (Indo-Aryan) is held to have been close to whence the Proto-Nordics emerged. (Ibid p. 114). In Europe, the Proto-Nordics from south Russia are held to have occupied the northern lowlands of Germany. The *kurgans* of the steppes and parkland region in south Russia are attributed to pastoral dolichocephalic people in a Neolithic stage of culture. They emigrated towards the 2nd half of the 3rd millenium B. C., some moving to the southwest and others northward, others passed through the Ukraine to Germany and Scandinavia. The Letto-Lithuanians are regarded as representing a passage type from the Proto-Nordic to the Nordic. (Ibid. pp. 63, 65).

Guha thinks that the skeletal remains discovered in the Dharmarajika monastery at Taxila probably gives an idea of the racial types of the Vedic Aryans. The type represented by these remains is different from the other long-headed types found in India. Guha thinks that this type survives at the present time not in its purity but mixed with an intruding type which is termed the Oriental

type. The purer type is held to be dominant among the Kaffir tribes. Among the Pathans and the Badakshahis of North Afghanistan the Oriental type is dominant. He is of the opinion that the purer type represented by the Kaffirs, Khos etc. should be considered as partly blond or Proto-Nordic. The hair colour of the Kaffir and allied tribes of the Hindukush is taken by him as an indication that the original type of the Vedic Aryans could not have been completely blond, "a trait which appeared to have developed subsequently in its present form among the people living around the Baltic." It is then the Dharmarajika Vihara type with short, long head, high-pitched, narrow nose and long face which is held to be the original strain throughout North-Western India. Among the Northern mountain tribes (partly blond or Proto-Nordic) the type is to be found in comparative purity. Besides the Pathans etc., it appears in a small degree in the U.P., Bombay, Bihar and Bengal. (Racial Ethnology).

In a later work Dr. Guha overcomes the hesitation which marks his earlier efforts for the solution of the Proto-Nordic problem in India. The Dharmarajika Vihara race is affiliated on the one hand to the Vedic Aryans and to the Hindukush and Pathan tribes on the other, marked among the latter with Dinaric and Oriental elements. Regarding the Vedic Aryans he writes, "From references in the ancient Vedic literature, their northern home, light skin and hair colours seem indisputable" (Racial Elements). Though the head form can not be known from these references and though light skin and hair colours appear in round-headed races in the Hindukush and beyond no difficulty has been felt in identifying the Vedic Aryans with the Dharmarajika Vihara type and the mixed long-headed tribes of N.W. India. The area of distribution of the race is spoken of as Nordic territory. Now, the characteristics of the race—long massive head, protruding occiput (this has been said to be a characteristic of the *Homo Alpinus*), long face, powerful jaw and narrow straight nose—agree fully with the characteristics of the second long-headed strain among the Indus people. The conclusion is that the Vedic Aryans or the race to which they belonged were present in the Indus Valley in the Chaleolithic period.

These findings have not however helped to modify the current theories regarding invasion of India by the Vedic Aryans. Derived from the Northern steppes (that is, Proto-Nordic according to Haddon's definition) and related to the Kassities they are held to have swept into N.W. India during the 2nd millenium B.C. It has been said that in *kurgans* of S. Russia and the Upper Yenisei regions

of the early Bronze Age skeletons of powerfully built long-headed races have been found together with evidence of horse sacrifice. (Racial Elements etc.) Obviously, the suggestion is that the Siberian performers of horse sacrifice were closely related to the horse sacrificing Vedic Aryans.

Hutton derives his views regarding the Vedic Aryans from Peake and Fleure. They were near cousins of the Kassites. From their northern home they moved south to Sogdians and Merv and next to Balkh. From Balkh they turned south and divided, one part proceeded west to Harayu (Herat) and the other turned eastward and entered the Punjab about the middle of the 2nd mille. B.C. (C.R. I/I p. 459). According to Giuffrida Ruggeri the original anthropogenetic centre of the dolichomorphus whites is placed in N.W. Asia. The type was dolicho-mesaticephalic as is proved by Turkestan and Yenesie crania. They are to be found from the Mediterranean to Kashgar and to India. From the original centre first departed the Western Aryans, the exodus ending about 1800 B.C. The exodus of the Eastern Aryans (Indians and Iranians) began about 1600 B.C. and ended about 850 B.C. with the Iranians. India marks according to him the extreme area of leucodermic penetration. Leucoderms did not come, according to him, from Syria and Asia Minor, but they came direct from north and bifurcated in Iran. At the centre remained the ancestors of the Tajiks. The branch that proceeded to India was, according to him, brown dolichocephals because it passed through areas inhabited by tribes akin to the Mediterraneans and Dravidians. (Outline etc. p. 34). The inference is that the branch that came to India was originally brachycephalic like the Tajiks and its long-headedness was due to admixture with long-headed races. To the question as to whether the Aryans were dolichocephalic or brachycephalic he says that it is useless to ask the question because "the Aryans spread from a very northern centre and that without any special regards for dolichocephals (Ibid p.34).

As regards blondism which Guha would identify with the dolichocephalic Aryan type reference may be made to Ujfalvy's view quoted by Giuffrida-Ruggeri, "the blonde type among the Iranians are as brachycephalic as the chestnut-coloured and brown types," and he adds that this fact is equally true in Central Europe, (Ibid p. 34). From the results obtained by Ujfalvy from his investigations in Central Asia it is found that among the hill Tajiks the percentage of blondes is 8, among the Tajiks of Fargannah 12 to 13 and among those of Samarkand up to 27. (De Ujfalvy, Resultats an-

thropologiques d'un voyage en Asie Centrale quoted by Giuffrida Ruggeri Ph. 31f.) From anthropometric data collected by Stein and analysed by Joyce we find that among the Hindukush tribes only the Kaffir has a cephalic index of 76.88 and the Dard 75 while among the Chitrali and the rest it is above 80. The eye colour among the Kaffir is dark 11, medium 61 and light only 28; in hair colour dark brown is preponderant and in skin colour white rosy is 78 and brown is 22. (Notes on the Physical Anthropology of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs J.R.A.I. Vol. XLII). The Kaffir can not therefore be taken as blonde, rather blondism is more prominent among the Pamir tribes and Tajiks who are brachycephalic. It may be pointed out that these facts go against Guha's hypothesis that the long-headed Proto-Nordic type is represented by the Hindukush tribes. His identification of the Vedic Aryans with long-headed Proto Nordics appears to be without any evidence and so is also his theory that the coming of the Hindukush tribes is synchronous with the advent of the Vedic Aryans:

Risley's specimens of the Indo-Aryan type are taken from the Punjab and Rajputana and include the Rajput, Gujar, Sikh-Jat, Meos, Minas, Awans, Chuhars etc. The C.I. is between 72.3 and 74.4 and N.I. between 66.9 and 75.2. The U.P. Brahmans with average C.I. 73 and N.I. 74.6 are grouped with the Kol, Dosadh, Tharu, Lodha, Koiri, Pasi, Chamar, Musahar, Kewat etc. as being of the Aryo-Dravidian type. Among Indo-Aryans we have thus Gujars, Jats etc. who are held by some to have come to India between 1st. century B.C. to 5th century A.C. coupled with Minas and Meos who are aboriginal tribes closely related to the Bhils classed as Dravidian by Risley. Along with them is classed the agricultural tribe Awans. Various theories have been suggested for the origin of the Awans of the Salt Range who are Moslems. Cunningham identifies them with the Januja Rajputs, while others give them a Jat origin. The Chuhars are the scavenger and sweeper caste of the Punjab, corresponding to the Bhangi of Hindustan. (Punjab Castes, pp169-71,295). Among the Aryo-Dravidians also we have the U.P. Brahmans grouped together with a number of primitive tribes and Hindu castes derived from them, generally belonging to the lowest strata of the Hindu society and following occupations looked down upon by others. We find that dolichocephalic leptorrhine and mesorrhine types and mesocephalic mesorrhine and platyrrhine types (average N.I. of Risley's Aryo-Dravidian varies from 73.0 to 88.7 among the Musahars) are classed as Indo-Aryan and Aryo-Dravidian.

Risley's racial types are thus far from being homogeneous and are based on averages, minor constituent elements being ignored.

Ramaprasad Chanda thinks from some references in the Rgveda and Vedic literature that there were a white-complexioned yellow-haired section and a dark complexioned section among the Vedic Aryans. The difference in the physical characteristics of the two sections is accounted for by him as being due to there being Brahmans by descent and Brahmans by adoption. He writes, "To explain the difference of skin and hair between the two groups of Vedic Aryans, we have to assume that the ancestors of "the white yellow haired group migrated to India from the temperate region in the far North and the dark section had their home in the tropics." (*Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 25). It is to be noted that nothing is said about the shape of the head of the two sections of the Vedic Aryans. Chanda refutes the theory held by some scholars that the Vedic Aryans were a homogeneous body. He points out that there were three social classes known to the Aryas, the priests, *yajamanas* and aborigines. These three classes belonged to different ethnic stocks. The fair-coloured and fair-haired priests formed the nucleus of the Brahman caste, the *yajamanas* who are held to have dark skin, were the warrior clans. The fair Aryas migrated to India earlier than the dark *yajamana* tribes from the cradle of the Aryan folk in the far north. By the cradle of the Aryan folk Chanda means the Eurasiatic steppes. They are held to have been akin to the Athravans and Magi of ancient Iran (*ibid.*, p. 33). It is not explained whether this means that they were akin racially or in social position and function. "When later on the ancestors of the Rgvedic warrior tribes entered India and came in contact with the Rsi clans, the former recognised the cultural superiority of the latter and accepted them as their religious guides (*ibid.*, p. 33). It is evident that the theory of invasion by Aryan warrior hordes still lingers in Chanda's mind although according to him the warrior hordes were dark-skinned and they came to India not by the overland route but by the sea.

From Rgvedic references Chanda suggests that at least two of the Rgvedic tribes, the Yadus and Turvasas, came from S. W. Asia, i.e., from Syria and Mesopotamia. He thinks that these Aryan tribes were dark-skinned, due to admixture with the Semites, who were dark. The Purus, Drubhyus, Anus also came from the same quarter and were of the same physical type (*ibid.*, p. 33). This means that the Rgvedic warrior or *yajamana* tribes were a mixed race with Aryan and Semitic strains. When it is held that they were

dark-skinned due to Semitic admixture it may be asked, what was the Aryan element in their physical composition? There is no reply to this question. Chanda affiliates these R̥gvedic tribes to the colonies of people of Aryan speech and Aryan religion in Syria and Upper Mesopotamia whose existence is proved by the Tell-el Amarna and Roghaz Kuei documents. In other words, the R̥gvedic *yajamana* tribes are held to have been related to the Mitannis, Kassites and Hittites and they are held to have come to India from Mesopotamia across the Arabian Sea.

Not much is known about the physical types of the Kassites, Mitannis and Hittites. The Hittites are held to have been a brachycephalic race of the Armenoid type (Haddon, *Races*, p. 27). They were a mixed people "influenced by the Proto-Nordics or other brachycephals associated with Proto Nordics" (*ibid.*, p. 96). The Hittites language has been found to be allied to Tokharian belonging to the centum group of languages. The Tokharian people have been identified by some with the Yuechi and described as light-haired and light-skinned. The Kassites are held to have been connected with the great movement of peoples occasioned by the expansion of "Aryans in Bactria and Eastern Iran between 2300 and 2000 B.C." They were a people with Proto-Nordic leadership (*ibid.*, p. 101). The Mitannis are held to have been Armenoids (*i.e.*, brachycephalic) dominated by the Kharri who had an Aryan theology. It is to be noted that while Proto-Nordic leadership or admixture has been suggested for these peoples two at least of them are held to have been brachycephalic. They have not been identified with the "Aryans" who are held to have reached Bactria and Eastern Iran between 2300 to 2000 B.C. The Hittites, Mitannis and Kassites were powerful in Mesopotamia at different periods. Chanda's theory which would affiliate the R̥gvedic tribes to these peoples and bring them from Mesopotamia would raise doubt about the validity of the claim of the R̥gvedic tribes to be regarded as Aryas and would run counter to the generally accepted theory that the Vedic Aryans came to India by overland routes. It goes also against the position taken up later by him. To this we would refer.

On the basis of his assumption that the R̥gvedic warrior tribes were dark due to semitic admixture Chanda has advanced another theory to solve the problem of the mention of dark ṛsi clans in the R̥gveda. According to him, as has been said, they were ṛsis by adoption, that is to say, they belonged originally to the warrior or *yajamana* tribes. The conflict between the Vasisthas and Viswamitra points according

to him to rivalry between the ṛṣis by descent and aspirants to the position of ascendancy among the warrior tribes. It may be observed that the reference to dark ṛṣis in the R̥gveda destroys the theory that the R̥gvedic Aryans were a homogeneous people.

The R̥gvedic society was thus composed of heterogeneous racial elements, a fair-haired and fair-skinned race, a dark-skinned mixed race—both immigrants—and the black aborigines. A further distinction is drawn between the dwellers of Vedic Aryandom and of the Outer countries. The Aryans of the Outer countries belonged, according to Chanda, to an ethnic stock different from that of the Aryans of the Vedic Aryandom or Midland. They belonged to different cultural and linguistic groups (there were two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects, one in use in the Midland and the other in the Outer countries), and their social organisation was different from the social organisation of the Midlandic Aryans (*Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 43-44, 59). Explaining the difference in origin he writes, "Long heads preponderate in all ranks of society in the provinces that now represent the ancient Vedic Aryandom But among the typical castes of the Outer countries there is a preponderance of medium and round heads" (*ibid.*, pp. 59-60). Chanda's position is that because long heads preponderate in all ranks of society in the traditional Vedic Aryandom the Vedic Aryans must have been long heads. We have discussed above his view that the Vedic society was composed of heterogeneous racial elements and that the ṛṣi clans belonged to an ethnic stock different from the stock to which the R̥gvedic warrior tribes belonged. If the shape of the head of these two groups of R̥gvedic Aryans was different how is it possible to suggest from the preponderance of long heads in the Middle countries that the Aryans of the Midland were long-headed? It may be noted again that the third racial element in the Vedic society namely the aborigines, were most probably long-headed because purely round heads are not to be found within India. Lastly, it is to be observed that the influx of invaders of different races whose types are not exactly known, but undoubtedly among whom there were some long-headed races, has affected the old population of the Midland countries. The long-headed Jats, and even the Rajputs, the Gujars, Meds, Hunas, not to speak of the Greeks, Sakas, Parthians, Kushans or Yuechis invaded Upper India in historic times and mixed with the older population. This is an important fact which cannot be ignored when the preponderance of long-headedness in the Midlandic countries is used as argument for proving the long-headedness of the Vedic Aryans.

In our discussions above we meet again and again with the theory that the dolichocephalic leptorrhine type found in the Punjab and Rajputana and called Indo-Aryan (Risley) or Indo-Aghan (Deniker, Haddon) represents the Vedic Aryans. Various explanations have been given regarding the presence of pigmentation among the modern representatives of the type on the assumption that the type has Nordic or Proto-Nordic affinities modified by hybridisation and climatic influences. The presence of a second broad, long-headed among the Indus people and affiliated to the Kaffirs and other Hindukush tribes by Guha, in addition to the discovery of non-Mongoloid Alpine skulls at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa affiliated to the Irano-Pamirian type, should make it possible for us to approach the problem of identity of the Vedic Aryans from another point of view.

We have referred to Giuffrida-Ruggeri's view about the diffusion of the Aryan languages irrespective of dolichocephals and brachycephals. If this view is accepted as an attempt at rational solution of the problem of the presence of an Aryan-speaking population which is held to be autochthonous to the area in the Pamirs and territories west and east (Zungaria is held to have been a centre of leucodermic expansion and the Tarim basin had an Aryan type of population before and in the early centuries of the Christian era) one may raise the question whether this element might not have been responsible for introducing the Aryan language into India. It is supposed by some (Sergi, *Mediterranean Race*, pp. 262f) that brachycephalic Eurasiatics introduced the Indo-European languages into Europe in the Neolithic age. They are held to have introduced into Europe cultivated grains and fruits, domestic animals, polished stone implements, painted pottery, weaving, etc. (*Races*, p. 57). We have referred to the area of characterisation and expansion of the brachycephalic Irano-Pamirian races with a large percentage of blondes among the Tajiks one of their modern representatives. Dr. Bhupendranath Datta suggests that the original tribes that descended to the Punjab plain could not have been free from Iranian strains that are still to be found in the Pamirs, North Afghanistan and southern slopes of the Hindukush. "When we remember the original similarity in language, religion and other matters between the Aryas of the Vedas and the Airyas of the Avesta we cannot make a sharp ethnic distinction between the two in the dim past." (*Races of India*, etc., p. 241) He points out that brachycephaly is more prevalent with those peoples who speak the satem group of Aryan languages. The point raised by Dr. Datta does not go without any support. Haddon states that one of the two

ethnic groups in Iran is represented by the settled Tajiks, the old type at which is preserved by the Parsi who migrated into India in 640 A.C. (*Races*, p. 102). The Parsis are a broad-headed people distinguished from the long-headed Guebres who are to be found in Kala Gebri near Teheran. Reference may be made once more to Giuffrida-Ruggeri's view that the branch of Aryan-speaking leucoderms that proceeded towards India from Eastern Iran were probably brachycephalic who mixed with brown dolichocephals on the way.

The hypothesis that would emerge from the above considerations is that a brachycephalic leptorrhine race and not a dolichocephalic Proto-Nordic race from the Western steppelands might have been responsible for the introduction of the Aryan language into India. This would raise the question of the predominance of the dolichocephalic leptorrhine type, *i.e.*, the so-called Indo-Aryan type in the Punjab. But brachycephal leptorrhiny is not absent in the Punjab. Fault has been found with the method of creating hypothetic races on the basis of arithmetic averages followed in his investigations by Risley. It has been pointed out that biometric analysis of Risley's data shows that besides dolichoid leptorrhiny and dolichoid mesorrhiny some of the Punjab castes examined by Risley, particularly the Khatri, the Arora and the Churah show '6/, 3'0/ and 12'5/ of brachycephaly mesorrhiny respectively. Dr. Datta writes, "The presence of a brachycephalic element in the Punjab cannot be denied. The reason of not finding it before lay in Risley's old-fashioned method of creating a hypothetic race on the basis of arithmetic averages" (*ibid.*, p. 238). He suggests that that the presence of brachycephaly in the Punjab which biometric analysis of Risley's data reveals and of the same element in the upland Valleys of the Eastern Punjab and in the Gangetic valleys of the U.P. as pointed out in the Census Report of 1931, might be due to migration of the Homo Alpinus type of people from the Pamirs (*ibid.*, p. 241). Dr. Guha in noticing the results obtained by working out the crude co-efficients of racial likeness writes that the closest relationship of the N.-W. Himalayan region is with Gujerat, Bengal, Kannada and Maharastra, the first three being areas of strong brachycephaly (*C. R.*, 1931, Vol. I, part 3).

In this connection the fact should be taken into consideration that there is a strong brachycephalic strain in the tribes for whom Proto-Nordic affinities are alleged by Dr. Guha. This point has been already discussed.

The new approach to the question of racial affinities of the Vedic

Aryans is that the predominant element in the mixed population known as Vedic Aryans was probably brachycephalic and not dolichocephalic as is generally supposed.

CONCLUSION

According to anthropologists three brachycephalic and two long-headed strains have been found among the Indus people. Of the three round-headed strains one is Mongolian, the second Armenoid and the third Alpine or Irano-Pamirian. The Mongolian type is represented by a stray skull, the characteristics of which are held to be identifiable with the Naga skull (*I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pp. 643f). Whatever this may mean, there is no evidence, as has been pointed out, to assume the presence of this strain in any strength in chalcolithic Indus Valley. "The presence of such an element is evident in the mountainous regions of the North and in the North-East, hence the skull in question may belong to a wanderer from abroad" (Datta, *Races*, etc., p. 229). About the presence of the Armenoid strain it may be said that the distinction between the standard brachycephalic leptorrhine type and the Armenoid variety of it is probably more theoretical than real. The term Armenoid was used originally to distinguish the Alpine affinities of the brachycephalic races of Armenian and Anatolian plateaux (Von Luschan, *Races of Europe*, Huxley Memorial Lectures). Later on "flattened occiput", "hypsibrachycephaly" etc. have been made the physical basis of distinction between the Alpine brachycephalic leptorrhine type and the Armenoid variety of the same. Finally, a hypothetical new biotype has been evolved in India from this evidence and given the name Alpo-Dinaric. Such being the case much importance cannot be given to the theory which would distinguish the contribution by this hypothetical biotype to the development of the Indus civilisation from the contributions of the other types. As regards the presence of the Irano-Pamirian type, skeletal remains, modes of disposal of the dead etc. prove beyond doubt that a race ethnically, linguistically and culturally related to the great belt of Aryan-speaking, broad-headed races to be found north of the Himalayas was in the Indus Valley and Central Punjab during the period of the development of the Indus civilisation. Relationship between this race and modern Indian brachycephalic races is generally recognised.

Of the two long-headed strains one has been identified as Mediterranean. It has been shown that the dolichoid mesorrhine

type found among several castes from the Punjab to Bengal, in south India and traces of which have been found in Persia does not correspond to the characteristics of the Mediterranean type given by Sergi (Datta, *Races*, p. 220f.). Dr. Datta writes, "It seems that the term Mediterranean" is being glibly used in India. We must make a thorough comparative study before we apply a well-defined term to a known group of people." (*Ibid.* p. 221). While the Mesopotamian affinities of the Mediterranean race of the Indus Valley is affirmed by several anthropologists (Buxton and others) among the three strata of the race in India (Palae-Mediterranean, Mediterranean and the Oriental type) Guha would identify the first long-headed in the Indus Valley with the type of the European Mediterranean races. It may be questioned whether the reconstructed substitute of the type represented by the dolichocranial skulls actually gives all the details of somatic characteristics which would identify the type with the South European type which is called Mediterranean type by Sergi. The nasal index is not given, but from description it would appear that the race was leptorrhine and not mesorrhine like the earlier stratum. We have then a dolicho-leptorrhine race akin to the modern Mediterranean races of South Europe in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic Age. This race is said to have been later dispersed by the Aryan-speaking Vedic invaders.

A race akin to the race to which the Vedic invaders are held to have belonged was, however, already present in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period and is largely represented by skulls found at Makran, Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. This is the second long-headed strain having Proto-Nordic affinities according to Guha. Considering that many of these skulls have been found at the lower strata at Mohenjo Daro and other sites it is to be presumed that this race was not only well represented but also formed an older element among the Indus people. "The powerfully built large-brained race" whose relics have been found at Mohenjo Daro etc. is held to be akin to the race with skulls characterised by comparative broadness, lower vault of the cranium, high-pitched narrow nose and powerfully built jaw with Nordic affinities "whose advent in India synchronises with the Aryan invasion." This is Guha's Proto-Nordic race in India identified with the Aryan-speaking Vedic invaders. The large-brained Indus type "survives to this day in the population of N.-W. India" (*Racial Ethnology*). From the characteristics given it would appear that it was a dolicho-mesaticephalic type. From its close affinities with the Proto-Nordics it may be reasonably supposed

that the large-brained Indus race was also Aryan speaking like them.

We find thus from the findings of anthropologists that there were at least two racial elements well represented among the Indus people with "Aryan" affinities, *e.g.*, a brachycephalic leptorrhine race and a dolicho- or dolicho-mesaticephalic leptorrhine race. According to anthropologists both these types in the pre-historic population of the Indus Valley survive to this day, the brachy-leptorrhine type among the predominantly brachycephalic areas in Western and Eastern India and in various proportions in other areas, and the dolichoid leptorrhine type in the N.-W. Frontier, Upper India and elsewhere sometimes mixed with other strains. The brachy-leptorrhine type is affiliated to the Irano-Pamirian type and is supposed to have come from its area of characterisation in Eastern Iran and neighbouring areas. The Iranian affinities of the Vedic Aryans would lend support to the view that this race was the carrier of the Vedic culture. The dolicho- or dolichomesaticephalic type is affiliated to the so-called Proto-Nordic race from the Eurasian steppes. A dolicho-leptorrhine biotype is found in India. If the supposed Nordic affinities of this type are not accepted, there is no real evidence to make them acceptable, there is nothing to connect them with the mixed people who were Vedic Aryans. The evidence of blondism in this case is valueless because there are blonds among the brachycephals as well. Further, the old Indus second long-headed strain was probably dolicho-mesaticephalic as pointed out above, while its supposed modern representatives, in N.-W. India, particularly the Hindukush tribes, are admitted to be of mixed origin with brachycephaly more predominant among some of them, *e.g.*, the Khos, Mastujis, etc. It is a plausible hypothesis that these people were originally brachycephalic and the long-headed strain among them is due to admixture with a long-headed race which may be Mediterranean (Oriental type) as suggested by Guha. At any rate, the type of the existing population of N.-W. India, the halting place of so many foreign hordes which have poured into India from Central Asia, can hardly be taken as representative of the type of the old Vedic Aryans.

The discovery of the two above-mentioned races, probably both Aryan speaking, among the Indus people in the Chalcolithic Age, would support the theory that the Vedic Aryans were a mixed people, a theory substantiated by the R̥gveda as we have seen. It would further lend support to the theory that there was no invasion by the "Vedic Aryans" in the 2nd millenium B. C. as is supposed, because

at least two Aryan speaking races were present in the Indus Valley and Central Punjab long before that date. There were probably only local movements of peoples within the geographical boundaries of ancient India which in the north reached up to the Oxus Valley. From the presence of races with Aryan affinities in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period which we may assume on the strength of the reasons explained above and from the continuity of these racial links we may expect that the Indus culture, particularly Indus religion, would reveal elements which are familiar to the peoples who form these racial links.

It is proposed to turn now to the examination of the elements of the Indus religion.

THOUGHT AND REALITY IN ABSOLUTE IDEALISM

(II)

KALYANCHANDRA GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S.

We have tried to show that the fact of knowledge does not contain anything inherently unintelligible and therefore the so-called problem of knowledge (how the mind can know something different from its own state, *viz.*, knowledge) is not a genuine problem at all. Granting, however, that there is really such a problem we may take up for our consideration the question whether the idealistic monist's effort to solve it can be regarded as successful. We have already seen that the idealistic monist insists that the problem of knowledge can be solved only by supposing that there is an ontological affinity between the knowing mind and the object known. Before we can judge whether this attempt at explanation is successful we have to find out what "ontological affinity" really stands for. "Ontological affinity" taken by itself is a vague expression. It is difficult to determine exactly what amount of affinity constitutes ontological affinity and this difficulty is not removed when we refer to the writings of the philosophers already referred to. It is contended by them that the fact of knowledge would be unintelligible if reality is supposed to be 'alien to' mind. The supposition that reality is 'alien to' mind, which is equivalent to the denial of an ontological affinity between the two, would make the problem of knowledge insoluble. Unfortunately, this too does not take us very far. It is difficult to determine exactly what amount of difference is signified by the expression 'alien to'. As a matter of fact the expression 'alien to' has been taken by different writers at different places to mean 'distinct from', 'different from', 'quite different from', 'absolutely different from', 'external to', 'utterly outside', "completely separate from" and so on. Now, it is a common ground between realists and idealists, monists and dualists that the object of knowledge may, and indeed must be, 'distinct from' the knowing mind and 'alien' to it at least to that extent. Knowledge must have an object. If it did not have one it would not be knowledge. What idealistic monists contend, however, is that the object of knowledge in its ultimate nature must not be 'alien' to mind in any of the other senses.

This point is emphasised by Dr. Stace when he says that "subject and object are not two independent realities external to one another. They do not face each other as two absolutely different entities... The ground for this assertion is that if we do not accept it the problem of how knowledge is possible appears to be insoluble" (Hegel, p. 72). We are here asked to deny that reality is "alien" to mind in a particular sense. But we are also asked to deny that there is "an absolute separation between subject and object" (Hegel, p. 73), that the object is external to us in the sense that "it is something utterly outside thought" (p. 74), that "there is complete separation of knowledge and its object" (p. 74), that "subject and object, knowing and being are two incommensurable, opposite realities facing each other, cut off from each other by an impassable chasm" (p. 72). When however we examine such statements as these the conclusion is forced upon us that we are simply asked to deny that 'reality' or 'being' is unthinkable or unknowable. "The object is not external to me in the sense that it is something utterly outside thought, unknowable" (p. 74). "Reality is, on this view, (i.e., the idealistic view) the thinkable or in other words the rational, in fact, it is thought unless we presume that thought can think something other than itself, which we cannot in any manner characterize" (H. Jones-Lotze, p. 357) According to these statements the expression "Utterly outside thought" is equivalent in meaning to "Absolutely different from thought", "Cut off from thought by an impassable chasm", "Absolutely separate from thought", "unthinkable" or "unknowable". The main argument which we have so far examined amounts therefore only to this that if reality is inherently of such a nature that it cannot be known by a mind then it cannot be known. The possibility of knowledge is "accounted for" or "made intelligible" merely by assuming that reality is capable of being known or thought. But it is clear that if the possibility of knowledge can be made intelligible merely by assuming that reality is capable of being known, which is all that is sometimes implied by the ontological affinity between reality and the knowing mind then the term "intelligible" loses all meaning. In fact, to assert that reality is rational in the sense that reality is not 'alien' to mind or that there is an ontological affinity between reality and the knowing mind and that this assertion must be true because otherwise the problem of knowledge would be insoluble is simply to make a statement the acceptance or rejection of which can have no possible metaphysical consequence whatsoever.

If therefore, the rationality of the real is to signify some important metaphysical truth—a truth which would radically alter our views as regards the real nature of the universe “ontological affinity” should be interpreted more specifically. It cannot be said that the absolutists themselves are not aware of this. Hence it is sometimes contended by them that reality is ultimately mental in nature. The view that the reality encountered in cognition is essentially of the nature of mind is supposed to make knowledge more intelligible than the view that it is different in nature from mind. Why is it impossible for mind to know something which is not mind or made of mental stuff? The answer to this presumably would be that a non-mental object and mind are totally incommensurable and it cannot be conceived how the former can act on the latter. By implication the knowledge by a mind of another mind, a mental state or process or a psychical fact is supposed to be quite conceivable or intelligible. In order that there can be knowledge there must be transaction between an object and a knowing mind and this transaction cannot take place if the object is on a plane of existence altogether different from that occupied by the latter. If, for instance, the physical properties of a perceived object characterised it in an ultimate sense we would have to suppose that perception takes place at one end of a long series of processes all of which take place on the physical level and it seems to be unintelligible how at a particular point they are transformed into processes which are not on the physical plane at all and which do not conform to the laws governing the former. Changes that take place in the physical world as conceived by us are modes of motion and no link can be traced between these modes of motion and the processes that constitute knowledge. A similar difficulty also seems to arise in the case of the knowledge of universals or abstract principles. The mode of inter-action between such objects and mind cannot be described in intelligible terms. Such considerations, it has been urged, would lead to the conclusion that mind can know only that in which it itself is immanent, or to put it simply, it can know only another mind or something that is ultimately mental in nature. Reality, therefore, must be ultimately a mind or collection of minds or constituted exclusively by some sort of mental stuff. It is this hypothesis alone which is supposed to make knowledge intelligible. Now, so far as the knowledge by a mind of other minds is concerned it is difficult to see how it is easier to comprehend its nature than the knowledge by a mind of a physical object or a universal. For excepting the very dubious facts of telepathy, teleg-

nosis, etc., which suggest some kind of direct transference of ideas and feelings from one mind to another, inter-subjective intercourse ordinarily takes the form of sense-mediated communication between minds. My knowledge of another man's ideas, thoughts, feelings etc., is indissolubly associated with the knowledge of certain physical facts, *viz.*, sounds, movements of his body, etc., which are regarded by me as the behavioural manifestations of his mental processes. Without entering into the question whether knowledge of the other man's mind is inferential in the strict sense of the term we can assert that this knowledge is composed of two factors, *viz.*, the knowledge of certain physical facts and the knowledge of mind proper, and the latter will not be possible without the former. If the latter is intelligible there is no ground for thinking that the former also should not be regarded as such. Even if we admit the possibility that I can know the ideas, thoughts, feelings, etc., occurring in another mind without the intervening medium of their physical manifestations it is difficult to understand how I can directly or immediately apprehend the thoughts and feelings of another mind without identifying them with my own thoughts and feelings. If the whole nature and very existence of an idea or thought consist in that specific relation to a conscious subject in virtue of which the subject claims it as an object of its cognition it is quite unintelligible how the same idea or thought can stand exactly in the same relation to two or more conscious subjects. If the existence of non-mental objects is altogether eliminated it is difficult to understand the nature of the mechanism by means of which the ideas and thoughts contained in one mind can produce changes in another mind and thus become objects of its cognition. If the intelligibility of a process depends on our ability to trace all the inter-connecting links between two events which seem to be the initial and final terms of a series respectively then we should say that no such links are discoverable between the occurrence of an idea outside my mind and the appearance of a corresponding idea in my own mind. How an idea belonging to another mind arouses a similar idea in my mind is as mysterious as the generation of an idea in my mind by a physical object or a universal.

Hence it can be concluded that so far as intelligibility is concerned the knowledge of non-mental objects and the knowledge of other minds are exactly of the same status. It is not possible to lay down with certainty the degree of unlikeness between the subject and the object with which the fact of knowledge is compatible. A

physical object or a universal and a mind are different in nature in some respects but it cannot be assumed that the object must be mental in order that it may have a determinable common with mind. In other words, mind and its object may be commensurable without the object being necessarily another mind. Confronted with an objection of this type monistic idealists may be led to retort that it can be regarded as valid only on the assumption that there are really many minds but is untenable if the distinction between different minds belongs to the realm of appearance rather than to that of reality. My knowledge of anything other than my own ideas and thoughts, be it a physical object, a universal, a general principle or another mind, is quite unintelligible. but since knowledge is a fact it follows that the objects which I know must ultimately be my own ideas, thoughts and feelings. This is the conclusion at which monistic idealism arrives in its attempt to solve the so-called problem of knowledge. From this point of view the real is rational in the sense that the entire universe is ultimately a single conscious subject which thinks nothing but its own thoughts. This conscious subject is not a particular finite subject but a universal all-comprehensive subject immanent in all finite selves. When therefore I know the world which seems to be different from me what really happens is that this universal subject which is immanent in me and with which I am essentially identical cognises its own thoughts.

Leaving for the present various questions which such a conception of the ultimate nature of the universe may give rise to we may here discuss whether it makes our knowledge 'intelligible' in any specific sense. We are asked to accept the proposition that the objects of our cognition are mere ideas, thoughts and feelings and that ultimately these are our own. Now, an act of cognition is certainly distinct from an idea or a feeling towards which it is directed. It is also to be admitted that a process must take place in the mind, whether finite or infinite, when it knows one particular idea or feeling rather than another. An infinite mind, it may be said, knows all its ideas at one and the same time, but even then in so far as it knows one idea that particular cognition must be distinct from other cognitions. Either a mind must be supposed to produce the ideas or feelings out of itself or these must be supposed to act on the mind and prompt it to perform that kind of activity which we call cognition or there may be a reciprocal action between them. In any case unless we take familiarity as equivalent to intelligibility it is difficult to see how the process of cognition can

be rendered 'intelligible' simply by asserting that the objects of my cognition are only my own ideas or thoughts. The nature of the influence which passes from the mind to an idea or from one idea to another is, from our point of view, as mysterious as the influence which is supposed to pass from one physical object to another or from a non-mental object to a mind. According to the commonsense view the ideas which a mind regards as its own are occasioned by external non mental objects. This is supposed to make knowledge 'unintelligible' since such a view is based upon the supposition that a non-mental object can operate upon mind which is totally different from it in nature. But if we accept the hypothesis that all objects of cognition are ideas, thoughts and feelings we should have to suppose that something (*viz.*, an idea or feeling) which is originally a part of the mind is sundered from it and made into an object different in certain essential respects from mind as subject. An idea or feeling when considered in respect of all its specific qualities seems to be fundamentally incommensurable with the mind from which it is sundered and against which it is placed, and hence if knowledge is supposed to be incompatible with incommensurability between the subject and the object it is difficult to understand how a mind can cognise an idea or feeling even though it owns the latter. In answer to this objection it may be contended by idealistic monists that an idea should not be supposed to be sundered from the mind but should be taken as identical with it or at least as a part of it, so that the mind in cognising an idea really enters into a relation with itself or a part of itself. This, however, hardly solves the alleged difficulty. That the same being can be a knowing subject and an object of knowledge at the same time has been regarded by many to be as unintelligible as the action of a non-mental object on mind. The unintelligibility attaching to the view that two different things come together in the cognitive relation may be said to have its parallel in the view that one and the same entity can be two at the same time.

It is clear that the main argument on the basis of which it is asserted that reality is exclusively made of mental stuff and is therefore rational is quite untenable. If by saying that the real is rational we simply intend to convey the idea that the universe as a whole has some sort of ontological affinity with the knowing subject the statement is too vague to be taken seriously. If the statement is interpreted in the specific sense that the whole of reality is of the nature of mind such a conclusion cannot be supported on the ground that it alone will make knowledge intelligible.

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Hitherto we have taken knowledge only in a broad sense. But knowledge may mean either consciousness or awareness as such, whether immediate or mediate, or it may exclusively mean that form of consciousness which we call thought proper. If we take knowledge in this restricted sense the statement that the real is knowable will mean that the real is thinkable—that the innermost nature of reality can be grasped by thought and by thought alone. Thought, in this context, is contrasted with immediate experience whether it is the immediate experience involved in sense-impression or feeling or some form of mystic intuition in which all distinctions and differentiations are absent. Thought essentially consists in an activity of the mind or particularly that element of the mind which is known as reason. It is the relating activity, that is, the activity by means of which the mind relates the various contents of immediate experience and organises them into a systematic whole. In relating the contents of experience with one another the mind uses ideas and the ultimate result which it seeks to reach is an all-comprehensive, inter-connected system of ideas. According to the idealists of the Hegelian school what immediate experience, feeling or intuition gives us is not reality but appearance, it is thought alone which can apprehend reality. It may be suggested that if our mind imposes certain relations on the contents of immediate experience and connects them with one another by means of its own ideas and concepts we remain confined within the circles of our own thoughts. The structure of knowledge which we build up, since it is partly a product of our own mental activity and consequently determined in its nature by factors specially connected with the structure of our mind, may have nothing to do with reality. It is this suggestion which idealistic monists insist on denying when they assert that the real is the rational. It is contended by the advocates of idealistic monism that the separation between the world of thought and reality as it is in itself is based on a false abstraction which raises the distinction between the contents of immediate experience and thought-constructions into an absolute difference. It is this false abstraction which leads us to suppose that we are in direct contact with reality only in immediate experience whereas thought erects a barrier between our mind and reality. The truth, according to the monists, is, however, that the so-called immediate data of our consciousness and our thought-constructions are not two fundamentally different elements supplied by experience and thought respectively. The difference between the two is only a difference in the degree of

definiteness. Every content of immediate experience implicitly contains an element of thought and every structure of thought has an element or aspect of immediacy. Thought merely develops or elaborates the content of immediate experience and makes it more definite and concrete. In elaborating the material presented to us in immediate experience thought does not take us away from reality but brings us into closer contact with it or rather places us in its very midst. Immediate experience cannot be called knowledge in the true sense of the term because it is vague and indefinite and incapable of defending itself against contradiction. It is thought alone which can give us true knowledge. The suggestion that the world of our ideas may not represent reality is ultimately self-contradictory because it can be supported only on the basis of some knowledge of reality, and this knowledge must also be mediated by thought. All the processes of thought are on the other hand explicable only on the assumption that thought is at every step guided and determined by reality.

Hence on this view reality has ontological affinity with that element of mind which we call reason and of which thought is an activity. The affinity is so close as to amount to identity. It is ultimately one and the same reality which manifests itself in the objective world and in thought, so that in the whole world there is nothing foreign to reason. Thought is not a part of reality but the whole of reality. In the knowing process thought does not work on a material given to it from outside but works out its own material. The most fundamental characteristic of reason as an element of mind is that it contains within itself a *nisus* towards a systematic totality and this *nisus* exhibits itself in every form of the activity of thought. The statement that "the real is the rational" ought therefore to be taken to mean that reality is essentially intelligible or thinkable or a rational system. "The reality which is given in perception and which is given no less in every act of thought is no longer a collection of independent, mutually exclusive or even unrelated objects and elements but a rational system. It is therefore to that system that they (idealists) commit themselves. But to commit themselves to a rational system is, so to speak, to commit reason to the charge of reason" (H. Jones-Lotze, p. 372).

If the rationality of the real is made to rest on the proposition that the real is a system, in fact the most perfect system or an individual whole, and the most perfect system is understood—as is often done—in the sense of a system which annuls its parts

or constituents it is clear that the view loses all plausibility as soon as it is pointed out that no whole or system, however perfect it may be, can be of that nature. If a system has parts at all these parts must be granted a reality distinct from the reality of that which binds them together. The parts cannot be simply merged into the unity of the system, and we have a dualism instead of a monism in the strict sense.

It may be maintained, however, that in order to understand the full significance of the statement "The real is the rational" we should not accept the idea of a perfect system in the sense mentioned above as the final characterisation of the universe, but should proceed a little further. We must point out the fundamental affinity between reality and reason in more precise terms. To the most perfect insight the universe as we ordinarily know it is the outer garb of reason itself or of pure reason. Its nature as a perfect system can be brought out only by saying that every element in it can be logically deduced from a single principle. Reality as a whole must be regarded as the manifestation of a single being for which all particulars are, in Hegel's language, 'transparent.' There is therefore nothing in the particulars which is alien to this being and reality is fundamentally one.

If this is the full significance of the doctrine of the rationality of the real the question that naturally arises is whether it is really possible to deduce all the details of the universe logically from a single being or principle. Since it is Hegel who makes the rationality of the real the central topic of his philosophy we must turn to his system in order to find out whether such a deduction can be successfully made. It is well-known that throughout his Logic Hegel is engaged in deducing certain categories logically from others and he claims to have shown at the end of the process that the universe is such a closely knit system that all its features logically involve one another. Beginning with the simplest category of Pure Being we are logically and therefore irresistibly led to what Hegel declares to be the highest, *viz.*, the Absolute Idea. The highest category which we seem to reach at the end of the process is in reality the logical prius of all the other categories which have no independent existence but are only abstractions in relation to the former. Hence the universe conceived under the category of the Absolute Idea is the ultimate reality and all the general features of the universe (as represented by the other categories) follow necessarily from the nature of that reality. The method by means of which Hegel attempts to

show this is the dialectic method, and it may be assumed that if this method is flawless the result reached must be incontrovertible. It can be shown, however, that Hegel's deduction of one category from another is in many cases incomplete and unconvincing and the rigorous necessity which the dialectic method claims to exhibit in the various transitions of our thoughts is after all illusory. What is more important to note in this connection is that Hegel does not deduce the particular details of the universe from any single being or principle but simply deduces certain broad features or characteristics which reality must possess. Supposing that his dialectic method has all along been correctly applied all that he establishes is that if anything is at all, we are driven by a necessity of thought to characterise it successively by higher concepts or categories till we reach the highest category, *viz.*, the Absolute Idea. In his Logic Hegel is concerned solely with categories, concepts or universals and has not made any attempt to deduce concrete particular facts from these categories. Hence even if the dialectic method is successful all that it can prove is that the world as a whole must necessarily exhibit certain broad general characteristics but it cannot prove that the world must contain certain particular things or events or that those things or events must exhibit certain special characteristics. Even the most stringent application of the dialectic method does not enable us to deduce the fact that a specific colour-sensation must be aroused by ether-waves vibrating at a certain rate per second. Wherever Hegel has made any attempt to deduce particular facts from a single principle (for instance, in his philosophy of history) his procedure has been mostly arbitrary and consequently his conclusions are quite unacceptable.

It can be safely asserted that no philosopher has up to this time been able to deduce every detail of the universe from a single principle or indicated how this can be done. On the other hand there are good reasons for believing why the attempt to deduce a particular exclusively from one or more general principles or categories cannot, from the very nature of the case, be successful at any time or under any circumstances. A particular must be *given* to consciousness and no amount of philosophical dexterity can reduce this *givenness* to an inner necessity of thought which conjures up what is given out of the nature of thought itself. Hence even if the universe as a whole is regarded as a perfect system in which thought may be said to be embodied, there must be an aspect of that universe which is *given* to thought and therefore 'alien to' it. Since this aspect

is no less important than the aspect of systematic organisation we cannot say that thought includes within its sweep everything that exists or that it is identical with the whole of reality. The schism between thought and what is given to thought must be present even in the consciousness of an omniscient being and the attempt to detect in the phenomenal world the working out of a perfectly rational plan is bound to fail.

It is sometimes suggested that the only possible alternative to the doctrine of the identity of thought and reality would be a fatal dualism. But unless it is shown that dualism as such is 'fatal' the mere fact that the rejection of the doctrine in question leads to dualism should not be recognised as a sufficient ground for accepting it.

(Concluded.)

EDUCATION IN GERMANY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SCIENTIFIC TRAINING

DR. H. G. BISWAS

Calcutta University

The German system of education is based on a most well-thought-out plan and is one of the most sound systems of education known. Many of us are well aware that even a few decades back no English or American scientist could consider his scientific education complete unless he had given a finishing touch to his education from a German University. The astounding scientific development of modern Russia is also attributed to their adoption of the German system of education in their country. If free India is to attain a place in the world, if she is intent on raising the standard of living of her teeming millions the only way for her is to adopt a system of education that has stood the test of time and that is likely to develop the intellectual and mental powers of her sons and daughters to the fullest extent. In the modern world man power or richness of natural resources count but very little. The saying 'knowledge is power' was probably in no age so true as it is now. We are convinced of the truth of this statement when we cast our glance on Switzerland. A handful of rocky land, three-fourths of which are covered with hills and lakes—having moreover no coal or minerals essential for the building up of an industry—yet the brain power of the people of the country has developed to such an extent, thanks to the adoption of German system of education, that Switzerland is one of the most flourishing industrial centres of the world—and due to this it is really flowing with milk and honey. India on the other hand possesses vast deposits of coal and minerals, rich stores of forest and plant products of economic importance and yet in the midst of plenty we are in utter dearth and stark starvation. The root cause is our colossal ignorance and to remove this we must have to attain knowledge—right kind of knowledge that will rouse us to action, that will give us power to utilise our unbounded natural resources. And to effect this we must have to adopt right kind of education based upon the German system which aim at thoroughness and depth of knowledge and which lays particular stress on the practical training in scientific subjects. Let me now describe in brief the German system of education.

Children from six to ten years of age attend primary schools called 'Grundschule of Volksschule'. Here they learn reading, writing, simple calculation, hygiene and religion.

They are then admitted to high schools called 'Oberschule or Gymnasium'. These schools provide nine years course and boys and girls from ten to nineteen years of age attend these schools. Here they learn Latin, French, Greek and German including literature. The mathematics course comprises of Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression, fundamentals of Solid Geometry as well as Differential and Integral Calculus. Biology and Chemistry are also included. The Chemistry course comprises general Inorganic Chemistry, fundamentals of Organic Chemistry and fundamentals of Physical Chemistry. Physics: The fundamentals of mechanics, optics, acoustics and electricity. In both physics and chemistry practical exercises are included. Geography, and history of churches—artistics and technical drawings, history of arts, music, gymnastic including sports. This training is terminated by a very stiff examination called "Reifeprüfung" (test of ripeness), "Maturum" or "Abitur". The candidates have to appear both in Written and Oral examinations. The written examination is held by the education ministry and the Oral examination takes place in presence of ministerial staff. The students coming out successful from this examination are eligible for entering into the University, Technische Hochschule (Technical institution) or Academy. The latter provides subjects for arts and music only.

In the University there are the following faculties:

1. Philosophical and scientific faculties.
2. Medical faculty.
3. Judicial faculty.
4. Theological faculty.

The Philosophical faculty divide itself into German, English (language), History, Philosophy, etc., whereas the scientific faculty is composed of Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Geology, Botany, Zoology, etc.

The subdivision of the faculties in the Technische Hochschule are as follows:—

II. (a) Faculty for Applied Sciences:

1. Construction of Machines and Apparatus.
2. Electrotechnic.
3. Department of Building Engineering.
4. Department of Survey.

5. Department of Agriculture.

6. Department of Fermentation and Brewery.

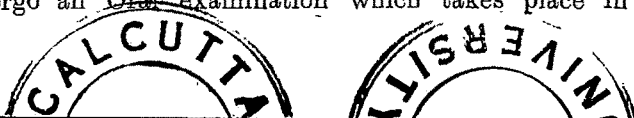
(b) Faculty for Pure Sciences:

1. Chemistry, 2. Physics, 3. Botany, 4. Geology, 5. Mineralogy, 6. Mathematics.

Study of Chemistry: There is practically little difference between the syllabus of the Universities and Technische Hochschule in the scientific subjects. The Technische Hochschule demands in the beginning the acquirement of the knowledge of the Applied Science (machine-drawing, knowledge of building materials, etc.) while the University lays special stress on the imparting of pure scientific knowledge. The Technische Hochschule gives one more opportunity to listen to much more courses of technical chemistry. The Technische Hochschule is, therefore, more oriented in a practical aspect of the sciences or in other words, it is an institution for Applied Sciences while the University is the seat of fundamental sciences.

In both the University and Hochschule after 4 semesters (2 years) the student has to appear at the preliminary Diploma examination and after 8 semesters at the final Diploma examination after which he is eligible for taking up an independent piece of scientific work. From the first semester his training consists both of theoretical and practical courses. The practical course comprises: qualitative and quantitative analyses in Inorganic Chemistry as well as the preparation of inorganic compounds. At the same time he has to do theoretical and practical works in Physics. After the preliminary Diploma examination commences practical Organic Chemistry work—both preparative and analytical, as well as the continuation of the studies in physical chemistry. In the final Diploma examination the following subjects are examined:

Entire Inorganic, Organic and Physical Chemistry and in the Hochschule the student has to appear in an additional subject of chemical technology. With this is completed the compulsory training. In Germany most of the students after passing the final Diploma examination take up Doctorate Work. The would-be Doctorate (Doktorand) receives from his professor, Doktorvater (Doctor father) a subject for investigation (Thema), which he is to work up independently to the best of his free opinion. Four to six semesters are required for this purpose. The work demands: To arrive at a new scientific knowledge. For doctorate examination the candidate should submit a written thesis on the results of his practical work and he is to undergo an Oral examination which takes place in presence of



members of different faculties with the Dean of the faculty as President. The questions may be put from other subsidiary subjects as mentioned in the case of the final Diploma examination.

After getting his Doctorate degree the ambitious student who desires for a career in the University or Hochschule must have to work out a self selected scheme of research work for a number of years. The results of his work must from time to time be published in the scientific journals. When a substantial volume of work of a comprehensive nature has thus been published it is presented before the faculty with an application for the bestowal of the permission for teaching capacity (*Venia legendi*). If the submitted work prove sufficient, the candidate is called before the faculty for an open discussion and he must hold a test discourse on the subject. This examination is known as *Habilitation* and the successful candidate receives the title *Privatdozent*. He is now admitted into the faculty and can deliver lectures but he has got no official function and generally it is not a salaried post. The *Privatdozent* is entitled, however, to get a lectureship or professorship when a vacancy occurs in his own University or Hochschule or in a foreign institution when he becomes a salaried officer under the education directorate.

S U M M A R Y

1. Chemistry is taught both Theoretical and Practical in the Matriculation Course.
 2. After Matriculation one has to study for 12 semesters or 6 years before one can obtain the Doctorate degree.
 3. A student of Chemistry has to study besides Chemistry as the principal subject, Physics, Botany, Biology, Geology, Zoology and Industrial Chemistry.
 4. Before sitting for the Doctorate examination the candidate must have to pass the preliminary and final Diploma examinations.
 5. For the Doctorate examination the candidate has to submit a 'dissertation' (a thesis comprising independent practical work). Then follows Oral examination.
 6. A student who becomes a Doctorate in Organic Chemistry must also have to study besides his principal subject in which he prepares his thesis, Inorganic and Physical Chemistry, and has to be examined in all three branches of Chemistry.
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7. Ph.D. is offered from the University, and Dr. Ing. from the Technische Hochschule.
8. Difference in curriculum of the University and Technische Hochschule is negligible.
9. The next stage after Ph.D. or Dr. Ing. is Privatdozent.
10. The Privatdozent is eligible for delivering lectures on his special subject in the University or Hochschule but he holds no salaried post in the institutions.
11. The teaching staff of the University or Hochschule according to rank are :
(a) Privatdozent, (b) Ausserordentlicher Professor, (c) Ordentlicher Professor.

12. The Director of a faculty is called the Dekan.

The Director of the Hochschule or University is called Rektor.

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LATE

J. K. CHAKROVARTI, M.A.

Formerly Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta

Better late than never—with these words the Principal of a big muffusil college used to accommodate the late comers to his classes. If a student is late, he has to pay the penalty in so far as his attendance is not counted. This is loss on the material side. But if he is debarred from listening to the lecture, he loses on the spiritual side as well. For him there is loss upon loss. The world would not break to pieces if we are bit charitable to late comers.

In the code of academic Ethics, there is no provision for such leniency. Punctuality, like truth-speaking, is uncompromising in its demand and would lose in savour if laxity is permitted. But, while owing to the lack of any workable criterion, the practice of truth-speaking may swerve at times without censure, punctuality does not suffer any exceptions. It is a virtue of precision, measurable by exact objective standards. If a man happens to be late, no amount of quibbling would wipe out the blot on his conduct. He has to bear the blame, and there is no escape from it.

'Least I be late' sits like an incubus on the minds of the busy public. The vital concerns of life brook no delay. Even the sun cannot rise at leisure. He has to hurry up so that rickshaw-wallas, bus-drivers and tram-conductors might have no excuse for sleep. The Bazar people are astir and even before the break of dawn. There is so much rush that if you happen to lose your way, you will in vain look for a listener to pause awhile and show you the way.

Speed and motion measure the worth and importance of city-dwellers of modern times. With every aspiring soul the rule is to push on. To take long over a trifle is a mark of inefficiency. How many volumes you bring out in a year, how many visitors you dispose of in an hour, how much distance you cover in a minute—these are the points for consideration if you aspire to rise in eminence. Let it be remembered that you are not behind-hand in whatever you do or say. The only thing that counts is that you are never late.

It was said of a big political luminary that he toured 3,000 miles, addressed 200 meetings of more than a million of audience in a week. He knew how to hurry up.

Thus the standard is set by men at the helm of affairs, and the cue is taken by their followers all over the country. The seed is sown and no wonder the harvest is beyond all expectations!

A doctor charges fees to examine patients. But if a patient continues unfolding his tale of distress he is curtly reminded that a doctor's chamber is not for story-telling. He must hurry up, for the target is fixed—one hundred patients in two hours a day.

Man toils hard so that he might not get in late. Look at the way how decently-dressed people rush and struggle for a seat in a transport car. They have no time to look around and will not pause to send a word of apology if in the hurry and bustle they have knocked down an old lady on the right or trampled under foot an innocent boy on the left. Yet we must not mind the cost, for our solemn pledge is never to get in late.

After ages of training and discipline humanity got over the animal instinct of scrambling and rushing to seize the booty first. By strenuous endeavour he acquired a sense of decency and developed a taste for restful leisure behind the 'maddening crowd's ignoble stripe' for a prized place. He is not worried if others go in and are served first. True to the spirit of culture, he prefers, with stoical heroism, to stand and wait until the last hour. Out of such heroism is born a sweet tenderness of disposition which seeks the welfare of every fellow creature and disdains to own even the riches of the world by elbowing out a shaky rival. Such a temper marks the excellence and nobility of character.

Unless there is a cry for halt, it seems that the present day rush for quantity would drag man to the depth and primitive animal existence. A young novitiate in letters is reported to have brought out a readable novel of forty thousand words in 24 hours and it fetched him one thousand dollars. If we are seized with hectic fever to run after such a scheme we cannot get rid of the tension of hurrying and rushing.

There is a way out of this malady. The need of the hour is to develop inward strength. The soul that is dedicated to the task of caring for beauty of quality in preference to accumulation of quantity, is not to be overtaken with the fear of losing in the race. Though he is the last to come, he need not be the least important on that score.

Whatever be our avocation there is a place of honour assured for us, if we can show that our work, great or small, is faultless and bears the beauty of finished workmanship. Herein lies the art of life. It is not the men frantically moving and rushing in quest of

laurels that are to achieve lasting greatness in life. Greatness thrives and abides when the spirit is not in turmoil, when conscious of its inner strength it is freed from every manner of fear and anxiety and in enjoyment of its inward peace, is given, without haste or fury, to put the best of itself in its work. Such a soul is rescued from the drudgery of restless rolling after time. Even bread-earning business can be turned into an art, and in the temper of an artist there lies the solution of our current disorders.

ONE-ACT PLAY IN HINDI—A STUDY IN TECHNIQUE

PROF. AMARNATH GUPTA, M.A.

Government Hamidia College, Bhopāl.

The one-act play has hardly come to its own in Hindi Literature. It is still in "swaddling clothes" and has not learnt to cast off its early muling and puking nature. It is as yet in infancy and has for its accompaniment the weakness and the imperfection of any given form of writing in its early stages. Nevertheless, within this brief period of its development in Hindi Literature, it has shown some very fine specimens of one-act play writing, equal in their dramatic effectiveness and skill, to the works in the same branch of writing in any country of the world, besides it enables one to detect in them a regular and definitely marked process with certain aims on the technical side of the writing. The one-act play was born in Hindi to satisfy the instinctive desire of the play-wright to rationalise their experimentation. Technically speaking, various experiments have been made with this mode of writing, which bespeak of a richness and variety, not so easily visible in the other branches of Hindi Literature. As will be seen later on, the one-act play-wrights seized upon models, particularly in English Literature, though generally of western Literature as a whole, through their translations in the English Language, for very few learn to read and write in languages other than English, and the technical side of the one-act play shows evidences of a foreign literature. The following are some of the technical experiments made in the realm of one-act play in Hindi Literature, which one obviously comes across in his ramblings through its fields and pastures.

The first name, in this connection, that comes before us is that of Seth Govind Das. He is an indefatigable experimenter in the realm of Modern Hindi Drama. His dramas show an untiring zeal and a continual endeavour on his part to add to the richness and variety of Modern Hindi Drama as a whole by importing from the west various modes of dramatic expression. He has written a number of one-act plays, besides three-act and five-act dramas, which are published in book form. He is a very prolific writer and his plays

including some of the finest were written while he was behind the bars, at one or two sitting only. So we can with reliance look forward to him for many more in the near future, as so far he has endeavoured to come up to our expectations both in the quantity and quality of his plays. So far we have his "Ekadshi," "Sapt-Rashmi," "Chatuspath" and "Spardha" published. They are collections of his one-act plays except the last, which is a complete one-act play in itself. "Chatuspath" marks a landmark in the history of one-act play writing in the Indian vernaculars in general and Hindi in particular, for containing four monodramas, which have come to be written for the first time in Hindi. All the four monodramas in which there is only one character introduced soliloquising with himself or with some other object near him, as animals, stones, etc., have been patterned on the models of the monodramas in English. There are in western Literature various forms of this writing in both verse and prose, for instance, in verse the dramatic monologues of Robert Browning and in prose of Eugene O'Neill in America and of Strindberg in Sweden, both of which types were studied by Govind Das in English before writing his own monodramas. A monodrama is a kind of comprehensive soliloquy, absorbing into its substance by the speaker's keenly observant glance the surrounding scenery and audience; bringing all that is pertinent to the chosen moment by the channels of memory, argument, curiosity, and association; adding through the deep-graven lines which habit has incised upon character much which the soul would fain conceal, or is even unconscious of the necessity for concealing; and enriching the current of self-revealing speech with the product of any other emotion which may have been powerful enough to share in the fashioning of this critical moment. In these monologues, generally some event crystallizes all the elements of personality about itself so that a soul's history is told in an episode of an hour. The pressure of circumstance forces into high relief the real underlying temperament obscured by some disguising veneer in normal times; the elements and energies of life are tightly knotted in microcosmic completeness; such situations afford him obvious pleasure in unravelling the almost inextricable tangle of motive, good, bad, and purblind; of confession, sophistry, and self-deception; of every kind of complication and aberration of thought.

Unlike Robert Browning who woefully discovered first through assiduous trial that his genius, though dramatic, was not fitted for the production of stage-plays, and then was led, in his inability to present

character in action in the painted scene, to portray many individual characters in his dramatic monologues, Govind Das Seth's endeavour in this direction had been to give to Hindi newer forms of writing, rather than his incompetence to produce stagey plays on a vast canvas, which he also possesses to a considerable degree. He has attempted this form merely to satisfy a craze of fashion in dramatic writing.

There are in Sanskrit, too, several plays in which only one character expresses himself. There is only one form of this sort of writing in Sanskrit. It is known as "Akas-bhashit." Bhartendu Haris Chandra too, wrote one play of this sort. But, generally speaking, Govind Das Seth's monodramas are not so much modelled on the Sanskrit type, as on the western. Obviously there are differences between the Sanskrit and the English mode. There are, for instance, no detailed stage-directions in the Sanskrit one-act plays of this type as in the western type after which he has patterned these plays, and the freedom and variety of subject-matter and dramatic presentment, absent from the Sanskrit type, characterise the monodramas of Govind Das Seth.

All the four monodramas may well be said to be technical variations of only one form. Each has a unique technique different from the other. There is one monodrama out of the four, which has affinities with the "Akas-bhashit" of Sanskrit. It may be said to be obviously patterned on Sanskrit.

There is one character, a young man, in it, whom the dramatist introduces on a beaten path near a bridge, unravelling to himself the knotted intricacies about the true purpose of man in life. What is true life, is it continual suffering without the least indication on the face, or simply leading life to the grave, or the accumulation of vast treasures, or fulfillment of one's ambitions or achievement of one's aims and acquirement of great influence or power, what after all is this life for? No, for none of these aims, man takes birth, but with a self-detachment and untiring zeal and unprecedented gusto man marches on and on this path of life, like the sun, overcoming hardships and various odds, which confront him in this pilgrimage. Life of the sun and its onward march is an emulatingly true life. This is the moral which the play-wright intends the play to teach us. But the moral is unobtrusively conveyed, as it is the realization of this summumbonum, which ends this reverie of the youth. In its moralising tone and spirit the playlet may have resemblance to the Sanskrit "Akas-bhashit," but its technique, in the use of long stage-directions and the use of the opportunity which the typical

apologies and self-justifications of his subjects afford him of exhibiting his talent as debater and a leading counsel, reminds one of Robert Browning and the other English dramatists than of Sanskrit play-wrights.

“Sap and Var” is another kind of play from the technical point of view. The play is divided into two distinct parts. There is a (पूर्वार्ध) and an (उत्तरार्ध) in the play. It is technically an advance upon the other one-act plays of Govind Das. It is different from others in technique. In the first part there is a husband and a wife and the scene of action is laid in a city; in the other part, again, there is a husband and a wife, not the couple in the first part, but a different one, but the scene is shifted from the city to the village. Dramatis personae in both the parts are different. In the one is a set of characters from the city, in the other characters from the village. There is, of course a parallalism in both the parts with the deliberate intention to bear upon the same theme in the course of two altered circumstances of life. In its way each part may be regarded as quite a separate entity, though they are unified into a harmonious whole by not an altogether loose thread. There is one controlling idea throughout in spite of the division of the play into two distinct parts, and it is entitled साप in the one case and of वर in the other, thus making the title of the play extremely appropriate. The first literally speaking is the introduction to the second and vice-versa.

In the first part the play-wright introduces us to a maternity home in a respectable family of acity. There is a husband and a wife in the room. In wife's musings to the husband the play-wright has laid bare the ten years of their marital relations after their marriage. Wife of late has delivered a female child and unable to bear the strain is on death-bed. She wages a wordy warfare with the husband sitting quietly by her sick bed, endeavouring at times to leave her and the room in disgust, whose love she never received in life. He regarded her as her property and jealously possessed her. No love, no care, no consideration, he gave her. This resulted in an extremely antipathetic attitude of the parents-in-law towards her. She failed to satisfy them for not having delivered them a child to perpetuate their line in succeeding years. Abuses fell on her. She bore them all patiently. She did not even utter a word. In the mean time she became pregnant. Attitude of the people in the house changed. Everyone now loved her, particularly the old couple. But as ill-luck would have it, she bore a female child. Everyone held the poor mistress responsible for this fault, with which she had nothing

to do. How could she bear a male child, when it was ordained otherwise? For this, not wholly her fault, if at all, she was damned and cursed. She could not outlive all this disgrace and was on death-bed. Delivery proved too much for her. She was wishing for death for long, and she had it. She takes up this occasion to expose in her husband the hollowness of the capitalist civilisation, which regards even woman as their property and treats them, as if they were a lifeless machine. In this part the dramatist reveals ruthless and extremely unsympathetic attitude of the capitalists towards women. In the second part of the drama the scene by way of a contrast, is laid in a poor maternity home in a village where the scene is practically the same, as in the former part, except in the difference of attitude of the poor, men towards their wives. If there was no love in the former case, there is a stream of love and complete understanding flowing in the hearts of this unsophisticated rural couple. For a mechanical and business-like relationship in the former, there is a full-blooded and lively understanding in the latter. In the relations in the one case are selfish, in the other they are selfless. In the first part, the wife calls the husband to account for her neglect and obscurity in life, in the second, the wife lovingly admonishes the husband to marry again for her sake and her child's. In the one the husband shows signs of disgust and endeavours at time to remove himself from his wife's bedside, in the other the dramatist has shown the husband weeping at the prospect of this eternal separation between them. In this way the dramatist by bringing before the audience the two types of men in different circumstances of life, contrasts the two civilisations and shows the superiority of the one over the other. However, the play-wright's sympathies are with the rural folk, and in this he is a true representative of his age. The play, thus, is a fine example, of the device of contrast employed successfully by the play-wright.

"Albela" is the only play of Govind Das Seth, which is of its kind in Hindi Literature. Like his "Sap and Var" there are two characters here, but the technical device of either उत्तरार्ध and पूर्वार्ध or contrast is absent here. This is the only play, where instead of one there are two characters, and one of them is an animal, a horse after whose name the play is named. The play is unique again for its unexampled brevity without letting the dramatic effectiveness suffer in any way. The introduction of the 'horse' and the distinctive part it plays in the life of the hero of the play is just also in keeping with the humanitarian impulse, which has recently showed signs

in Hindi Literature, partly as an impact of the English Literature and partly of the changed social, economic and political Indian conditions. The hero finds a response to his feelings in the wordless groans and silent whisperings of the horse. The horse is the leader, the philosopher of its rider. He gets his cue of action from the signs made by the horse. He fashions his actions on those of his horse. In him he hears the eternal music of nature. The horse harps upon the song of the Almighty in his soul. Over hill and dale, over mountain and lakes, and impassable and impossible paths, he has carried the master and on his back the master never for a while failed in his endeavours and undertakings. The master has become a loser by way of a necessity. He goes about looting the rich, who have exploited the poor and misappropriated their belongings and thus returns to the poor what the rich had taken from them. The leader has never learnt to stay in life. He moves on and on. His march knows no stopping. The scene of the play-let is on the bank of a river, where the hero has stopped for sometime to soliloquise with the horse, as it is not time for him to set about his nocturnal rambles. In the soliloquy he unravels the various moods and thoughts as they sweep across his mind, before he actually starts on his work.

“Pralaya and Sristi” is another of his monodrama. It is by far the longest of the lot. There are no scenes in the play. The action, consequently, goes on uninterruptedly except in the change of the scene, if a change may we call it, by clearly marked divisions at the fall of the curtain. Besides, it is the only play of these four monodramas where the warp of the drama is intermingled and set with the woof of a delicate symbolism of the relative merits of ‘Capitalism’ and ‘Labour,’ the two forces of overwhelming magnitude at the present day, without which the meaning of the play cannot be brought home to the reader. ‘Ring in the new, ring out the old’—ring out capitalism, ring in labour, is the theme of the play. Here is advocated a destruction, wholesale ruin, of capitalism and a revival of interest in the poor. There are various reflections on this one theme in the play-wrights’ communings with spectacles, note-book, pen, light-house tower, clock, chimney, cloud, and earth respectively. The play-wright intends to build a thoroughly new fabric of society and political adjustments on a new scale over the ashes of the old. ‘Pralaya’ stands for the destruction of the old present order and ‘Sristi’ for the regeneration of the same in completely a new garb of the old.

There are other one-act plays of Govind Das Seth, in which he has struck in other newer paths of dramatic writing. These plays show him to be a technical innovator in the field of one act play writing. Such of his plays are "Dhokebaj," "Adhikar-Lipsa," "Manav-man" and "Maitri".¹ Instead of the division of the action into scenes without in any way compromising the unity of action or dramatic verisimilitude, the play has three divisions, viz., उपक्रम (Introduction), मुख्य दृश्य (principal scene) and उपसंहार (conclusion), as in "Adhikar Lipsa", "Manav-man", and "Maitri", and two scenes, and a उपसंहार (conclusion) in "Dhokebaj". Such an innovation is entirely new in Hindi Literature. There are no precedents of the same either in old Sanskrit or English Literature. It is Govind Das's original contribution to the one-act play writing in Hindi. He has employed a similar device in his play "Prakash",² but to achieve entirely different effects. There is an उपक्रम and a उपसंहार in "Prakash", but it is employed to explain the symbolic interpretation of 'a bull in the china shop' theme, which interpenetrates the texture of the play. In "Prakash" it is a superimposed device which serves the purpose of an outward appendage, which, however, bears upon the theme, while in plays of this kind it forms an integral part of the very being of the play. Such a device the play-wright has employed for obviating the necessity of the use of unities of time and place, which otherwise need to be used for an effective and harmonious presentment of action in the one-act play, without in any way causing dramatic verisimilitude to suffer. A successful use of this device shows us that the unities of time and place can be dispensed with, if and when the dramatist so desires. Govind Das Seth has taken indefatigable pains to see that the weapon serves best dramatic ends in its successful employment, as in 'Maitri' (Friendship). The first part of the play (उपक्रम) prepares us for the intimate and friendly relations of Nirmal Chand and Vinay Mohan, two youths practically of the same age, who are complement of each other. We are told that their life is a regular feast. This is gradually followed by a misunderstanding leading to jealousy in them on the question of the election to the Presidential chair of the Municipal Board. Each of them covets the position and feigns a sort of detachment from it. Matters reach a crisis when their friendship is on the point of

¹ Plays included in "Sapt-Rasmi".

² A social drama of Govind Das in 3 Acts.

breaking in an open defiance of each other. This is the theme of the principal scene (मुख्यदृश्य). In उपसंहार (conclusion) a resolution of their misunderstanding is brought about when both in all sincerity decide to give up the contest and desire like humble beings to serve their country. The first part strikes the exposition, the second the development of the action and the attainment of the climax and the third and the last part the denouement of the resolution of the catastrophe, so that there is a regular progression and pyramidal development of the action in the play, making the play quite effective and successful. With a slight modification necessitated by the circumstances of the action of the play the dramatist uses the same device in another of his one-act play, "Dhokebaj". It contains two scenes and an 'उपसंहार'. Two unities (of time and place) are studiously observed in the first two scenes followed by an उपसंहार which has been necessitated by the dramatist's intention to end the play in place and time different than the one dilated upon in the first two scenes of the play. It may be observed here that Uday Shankar Bhatt's 'Us Par' and 'In One Grave' (एक ही वक़्त में) violate the two unities not by taking recourse to a device employed by Govind Das, but by the simple division of the action into scenes, and though there is a difference of years in time and miles in space between the various scenes, yet the effectiveness is in no way lessened by even this method, different from the one used by Govind Das.

"Why did he die ?" (वह मरा क्यों) of Govind Das contains five brief scenes, each following the other as beads in a garland, so carefully are they set and so studiously do they follow an order. His 'कंगाल नहीं' is without any division into scenes, and briefly describes the irony underlying in a pension of three pice a day given by the British Government to some scion of an ancient ruling family, which in their pride and false sense of dignity inclines them to deny for themselves, the position of a beggar. His 'Id and Holi' is another brief play with three scenes.

Uday Shankar Bhatt's "Durga" is a significant change in the technique of the one-act play in Hindi. There is a division into scenes, but the nomenclature 'दृश्य' is replaced by the word 'scene', which shows the approximation to English Literature of the one-act play writing which the dramatists are intending to

¹ Included in Bhatt's "Abhinav-Ekanki Natak".

bring. It may be recalled here that in the Dwivedi Yug when the influence of Parsi stage was very potent upon Hindi Dramas a similar substitution of 'scene' for 'दृश्य' was done under the impact of Parsi Theatrical Companies.

"1935" and "वर तिनीचत" of Uday Shankar Bhatt contain only one scene. Instead of dispensing with the word one scene only placed at the head of the play, the play-wright seems to have deliberately done it, for he intends by so doing to distinguish his plays of this sort from others containing no such label of 'one scene'. Obviously there appears to be little difference between the two except the unnecessary emphasis which he has laid upon this point in plays of the first kind. Plays with only one scene in them have been given the name of 'Peep' by some critics to distinguish them from the one act play proper.¹ But such a distinction is faulty for whether it is 'Peep' or 'one-act play', whatever be its form, whether it contains one scene, no scene, or many scenes, one-act play so long as it is governed by one controlling idea, does not require such distinctions by way of its classification into different classes. In English Synges' *Riders to the Sea*, Harold Chapin's "The Dumb and the Blind", Harold Brighouse's 'How the weather is made', Sutro's 'A marriage has been Arranged', Lord Dunsany's "The Golden Doom", and Clifford's "Cloak", and in Hindi Ram Kumar Verma's 'Champak' and 'Prithviraj Ki Ankhen', Bhagwati Charan Verma's "Main Aur Keval Main", Bhuvneshwar Prasad's "Syama" and Upendranath Ask's "Adhikar Ke Rakshak", are some of the one-act plays of this kind, in which change of scene is dispensed with. Both types of play viz., plays with only one scene and with two, three, five, seven, or as many as the exigencies of the dramatic action require, are being attempted in Hindi Literature. It is, however, wrong to include under the one-act plays only 'peeps', plays of one scene or plays without any scene only, and not plays where there is a change of scenes, plays with scenes more than one. As a matter of fact, there is no difference between these two sorts, for both are one-act plays by virtue of a similar purpose in the observance of a unity of action. It is not a smaller edition of the five-act play, as short story is not of the novel, and it will be a mistake to think that the one will displace the other.²

Some one-act plays contain no scenes whatever. Change in the scene is merely indicated by a vague suggestion or the long

¹ Upendranath Ask's article in "Hamsa", Benares.

² Vide Chandragupta Vidyalkara's article on 'one-act play' in *Hamsa*.

stage directions or the fall of curtain. Bhuvneshvar Prasad's 'Strike'¹ is such a play. Change of scenes is barely suggested in the texture of the play.

Ganesh Prasad Dwivedi's 'Sohag-Bindi'² is the only play in the Hindi Literature containing seven scenes. It is a big one-act play in extent, yet on account of a singleness of aim and a concentration, which are the requirements of every one-act play, it is only a one-act play and nothing else. "Art of any kind", says Roland Lewis,³ "must not be judged in the light of the cult of mere bigness". His "Sharmaji" marks a technical advance over his other plays in the introduction of telephone for being used as a medium of conversation between two characters. It is the only play of its kind in Hindi Literature for this.

'Ekadsi' contains two plays which are a technical variation from Govind Das's other plays, already discussed above, in which the play-wright has employed the advice of उपक्रम and उपसंहार. In the latter plays there was an उपक्रम a principal scene and a conclusion (उपसंहार), but in 'Repentance' (प्रायश्चित्त) the older device has been changed to the insertion of an 'उपक्रम,' four scenes, instead of one, and an 'उपसंहार.' "Repentance" is a historical play. Its 'उपक्रम' shows us Raghunath Rao Peshwa imprisoned with his consort Anandbai in the palace of the Peshwa at Poona. He is on the horns of a dilemma as regards the order to an intimate friend of his to kill the 'Usurper', who will as soon do the business as he received his message. Blood is thicker than water and Raghunath Rao hesitates to take revenge. Later on in the development of the action of the play indicated in its four scenes Raghunath Rao is overcome by his wife's persuasion and Narayan Rao, his nephew, is ordered to be killed. In conclusion we are described the futility of this murder and Raghunath Rao's remorse, for the murder hath been to the benefit of none. The introduction of the four scenes seems to be absolutely necessary to justify the entry upon the stage of Sakhamram Bapu and Ram Shastri, two characters whose help Anand Bai and Raghunath Rao solicit for a justification of an act of murder, which they were set about. Unities of time and place are not observed. Scene shifts from Peshwa's palace, particularly the room in which Raghunath Rao is imprisoned to the parlour in the same, followed by the scene in Anandbai's room, Ramshastri's drawing

¹ Published in *Hamsa*.

² *Vide* Lewis', *The Technique of the One-act Play*, Page 18.

³ A collection of Govind Das Seth's eleven one-act plays.

room in his house, Peshwa's parlour and Raghunath Rao's house in Kopargaon on the bank of Godavari; besides, the time is spread over a wider range of many days. Employment of this device does not in any way discount the effectiveness and success of the play upon the stage. It may appear strange to us in the beginning, as all experiments do, but its constant use will accustom us to it and the complaints, if any, will be silenced. "Ghost of Fear"¹ is another play of this sort, but instead of four, as in the "Repentene", there are only three scenes.

In its earlier stages is seen another form of the one-act play, which was not popular on a wide scale. It is the dialogue form of the one-act play. Dialogues were written in English and Sanskrit for a long time. In ancient Greece Socrates and Plato wrote their dialogues. Dialogue-writing was in vogue in Hindi as well, such dialogues were mostly didactic in tone. Some of them really were very lively and had dramatic elements, humour and delicate irony in them was blended with an obtrusive instruction. They lack development of action or character. Pandit Hari Shankar Sarma's "Chiryaghar" (Zoo) contains some such humours and ironical dialogues. We may note here that dialogue writing in Hindi came up as a result of the influence of the popular theatres, Raslilas, nautankis, Sangs, etc., where dialogues occupy a more distinctive place than action or character.

Another form of the technique of the one-act play in Hindi Literature, which has of late come into view is the 'Feature' as a result of the development of Broadcasting in our country. The 'Feature' on account of its being written for a particular kind of public presupposes on the part of the one-act playwright certain characteristic features, which distinguish it from the one-act plays not produced for a broadcast. There may be two forms of this form of writing *e.g.*, it may simply remain a 'feature', or it may assume the shape of 'a radio play'. Any way in both these forms it is different from the technique of the one-act play, which is meant either to be read in the closet or produced upon the stage. A feature, literally speaking, is absolutely a piece of information which is intended to be delivered through the medium of dialogue by way of consistent narration of a certain incident, or event. An interesting example of 'feature' is Premchand's 'Duniya'² or 'Dewali of

¹ Another play collected in 'Ekadsi' of Govind Das.

² Mentioned in Nagendra's 'Adhunik Natya Sahitya' page 129.

Delhi, in which an attempt is made to portray life connected with the themes afore mentioned realistically. A 'feature' is characterised by an extreme brevity and the incident is simply informed through the medium of dialogue. There is no scope for the development of action or the revelation of character. Stage-directions, besides, are altogether banished. There is no question of a conflict or even a dramatic climax in a play like this. A 'feature' on account of its technical nature is near the dialogue form of one-act play writing, and a radio play, on the other hand, near the one-act play, differences in the latter, so to speak, being of the exigencies only. A mistake was committed once by Chandra Gupta¹ in his ignorance of the difference between these two kinds of play, which led him to believe that the popularity of the one-act plays in Indian Vernaculars in general, and Hindi Literature, especially, is due to its increased use at the various broadcasting stations. In this way he has amalgamated these two forms and denied them a separate entity. This is his mistake. There are differences between the Radio play and the one-act play written to be read or produced.

One-act plays which will be written keeping in view the fifteen or twenty minutes duration of time, which the requirements of a Radio-play for Broadcasting, impose upon it, will be different from the one-act plays intended to be read. In the first there will be a preponderance of dialogue, more than in the second, or the interests of the mixed audience for which the Radio plays are broadcast will be kept in view, for they condition the dramatic laws of the Radio play, necessitating thus, the introduction of songs etc., or things, catering to their tastes, requirements which may or may not be necessary in one-act play. Radio plays are produced to entertain the hearers, it matters not whether there is in them a regular progression of action, of course within the limits of the Radio one-act play, or development of character. Their chief aim is merely to amuse the audience even though it be at the expense of the other artistic elements of the one-act play. There is, moreover, no necessity of long stage-directions employed by several play-wrights nor an artistic division of the action into the confinement of acts and scenes. Of course a Radio play must be more gripping than the regular one-act play, otherwise it will fail in its appeal. Their difference, however, can best be understood by us when we endeavour

¹ Vide Chandra Gupta's article, 'Has one-act play a place in Literature'—published in 'Hamsa' (May) Page 803.

to broadcast Bhuvneshwar Prasad's "Syama"¹ intended by the author to be produced upon the stage. Upendranath Ask's "Sinner," published in *Visal Bharat* for being read, obliged the author to completely metamorphose it to adopt it for being broadcasted from the Lahore Station.² As there is obviously a marked difference between an article written for a monthly and a quarterly, quite a similar difference, one will notice in a one-act play and a Radio play. One-act play has more of a Literary flavour in it than the Radio play. One is written keeping in view the requirements of the theatre, if there is any, or the readers, where there is no theatre,³ or both, and the other is simply a shadow, an echo of the exigencies of the Broadcasting station.

There is one more technical form of the One-act play prevalent in Hindi Literature. It is the fantasy. "Fantasy," says Camillo Pellizi,⁴ "is a conscious breaking free from experienced reality, the terms of which are not changed, but simply put aside." In the writing of fantasy the play-wright reveals a freshness of blood, an eternal youthfulness and an innocent and childish lyricism. A fantasy is characterised by a childlike eagerness, an ever-roaming fancy and an urge of the untutored will. The Indian mind and spirit are particularly suited to this type of drama, for an Indian is temperamentally so constituted as to discover the greatest delight in the fusion of the certain and the uncertain, music and subtle lyricism, "not the impossible, for that does not exist in art or anywhere else, not the certain, not the true, not the right, and not the uncertain, the ambiguous or the wrong, but simply the possible; I mean, that which with the exercise of invention, *can* be done,"⁵ and all which a fantasy connotes and contains by and in its texture. A writer of fantasy always likes to imagine he is a child. He invents and writes as such, finding a large and ready response, not only from childish audiences, but more still from adults. In Hindi Literature there is, however, no singleness as regards the meaning of the word 'fantasy.' Some regard a dream play as a fantasy, others consider for it absolutely necessary the emotional presentment of natural events with

¹ In author's Caravan.

Broadcasted 4th Feb., 38. Vide Upendranath Ask's article 'Has One-act Play a place in a Literature' published in *Hamsa*, Vaishak, Sambat, 1995.

³ In Hindi there is no theatre. One-act plays are, of course, nevertheless, written primarily keeping in view the interests of the readers, as also of the theatre-goers of an imaginary theatre hoped to be born in the future.

⁴ Camillo Pellizi's *British Drama*, page 157.

⁵ Pellizi's *English Drama*, page 157.

a complete background of nature. Upendranath Ask's "Sixth son" is an example of the first, it is a dream play. But neither the first, nor the second is what we understand by 'fantasy,' of course it includes both. A fantasy, as has already been stated, requires a free and unrestricted roaming of fancy. Ever let the fancy roam in it. No attempt be made to find a meaning in it as we do not in a fairy story or fairy play, whose function is chiefly to delight the childlike audience. The best example of fantasy in the realm of story-writing is "Arabian Nights," quite contrary to it in Saṅskrit is *Hitopdesa*. Fantasy may use poetry, story or play, whatever is suitable, for its medium of expression. Harold Brighouse's *How the weather is made*¹ is one of the several one-act plays in English Literature, the open air plays, written especially for the outdoor performance. It is a faithful specimen of the modern pastoral play, and is classified by the play-wright as a "Little Fantasy." It is, indeed, a phantasmagoria and is mainly intended for diversion. Such plays are far from having any real meaning. In Hindi Literature Ram Kumar Verma's "Death of the Cloud"² is one of the finest specimens of this type of play. It is a day-dream. It makes you forget the heaviness and sharp distress of life, its crooked spite is dulled as you witness the play-let. There is sweet music here that softer falls, music that lies gentler on the spirit, music that brings sweet sleep from the blissful skies; here the poppy hangs in sleep. It is a reverie, for a while, we are in a land of dreams, a "Counterpane Land," and forget the grief, "the stifled drowsy, and unimpassioned grief," which finds no outlet in sigh or word or tear. There is no attempt at characterisation here, no human characters are introduced, instead we get Evening, Cloud and Breeze; lifeless abstractions all of them. There is no well-developed plot either, with a well-conceived climax. Technically, the outdoor play like this, has its own problem. There is no scenery but what nature provides, and the sense of romance is aroused in the minds of the spectators by gorgeous and costly costume alone, and imposes on the play-wright and the manager to employ the minimum of properties. It allegorically describes the working of the breeze upon the cloud, and its being reduced to a black patch only on that account.

There are two kinds of one-act plays in Hindi, one which contain climax and others which do not. Climax is not an essential feature

¹ Included in *One act Plays of to-day* (Third Series), selected by Marriot.

² Included in Ram Kumar Verma's *Prithviraj Ke Ankhen*.

of the one-act plays. 'Mimi'¹ in English Literature is a play without a climax. It is a successful play in which the aim of the play-wright has been to reveal the life of a few Bohemians, who have a peculiar attitude of "Eat, drink and be merry" towards life, rather than the progression of the action towards a climax. In Harold Brighouse's *The Dumb and the Blind*² there is a well-conceived climax. The play ends as it reaches its climax, which is seen in the revelation of the reformation of Joe Henderson, who changes from a bad and harsh husband into a loving father, and kind husband. Ram Kumar Verma's "Actress"³ is, besides being a revelation of the life of cinema actresses, a fine specimen of the concentration of the dramatist in the development of action to its climax. The dramatist has taken pains to show within the briefest compass possible, the past of the actress, who really she was, why she turned towards acting, how much ire and fire lay within her seemingly cool countenance, in short a peep into her whole life. Bhuvneshwar Prasad's "Strike"⁴ does contain a climax, which is cleverly blended with the other dramatic elements of the play. Govind Das's "Spardha" has no climax, yet without it is a fairly entertaining play.

These then, are some of the technical experiments made in the field of one-act play writing in Hindi during the last 20 years, for the life of the one-act play in Hindi covers only such a brief period. These technical experiments, like the employment of stage directions, lengthy and detailed, substitution of "A Scene" for 'दृश्य' attempts at fantasy, use of dream technique, inclusion of telephone in the dialogue for a conversation between two characters, production of various sorts of monodramas, use of a peculiar kind of subtle symbolism to convey the dramatist's meaning, division of action into scenes, one scene, or none at all, as the exigencies require, or division of scenes intended to be marked by the fall of curtain, climax or no climax in the play, production of features and Radio-plays, are after the examples of the One-act plays in English Literature, to which it owes its birth in Hindi Literature. There are some experiments, in which One-act play-wrights amalgamate some points certainly of western Dramaturgy and a few from their invention, but practically

¹ Included in *One-Act Plays* (Third Series), ed. Marriot.

² Included in *One-Act Plays* (Third Series), ed. Marriot.

³ Included in Ram Kumar Verma's *Prithiviraj Ke Ankhen*.

⁴ Included in *Caravan*.

A SOCIO-PSYCHIATRIC STUDY OF EARLY INDICATIONS OF MENTAL DISORDERS

P. N. CHOUBEY, M.A.

The Science of Clinics has by its logic of development devoted incomparably more attention to the somatic aspects than to the psychic aspects of human ailments, though it has been long established that many of our diseases have their origins in or are dependent upon or are linked up with mental disorders having roots since early childhood. This one-sided tackling of the problems of diseases isolated from their mental contents have not only marooned the Science of Psycho-therapy, but also affected the fuller development of the treatment of physical disorders.

Recent researches in Continental and American countries, particularly in U.S.A., have demonstrated that most of the cases of mental disorders have their roots in certain remediable childhood traits which under certain environmental conditions culminate into mental states what are known as insanity. Here more emphasis is laid on the pre-disposing causes in early childhood than on the precipitating actors before the onset of the mental aberration. Dr. Thaddeus H. Ames in his article: *Prevention of Mental Disease in Childhood*, points out that "every bit as important as this is the knowledge of the state the patient was in at the time of and just prior to, the first outbreak of symptoms. After the stimulus, after the patient has been 'exposed' to the psychic infection, there is a period of incubation, when the initial abnormalcy declares itself. During this preliminary period of incubation there are potentialities for both normal and abnormal behaviour, so that therapeutic work may be most readily accomplished then." Again "Freud's observation that the one who does not break down is the one whose love life and the ego have been well-cared for forms the basis of all technique in childhood to prevent neuroses in adult life." *Psycho-analysis Today*, edited by Sandor Lorand.

From the clinical observations it is found that in the first five years of life we may observe the earliest manifestation of mental disorders if of course we have eyes to see. Prof. J. A. Hadfield in his book: *Psychology and Mental Health* (page 18) remarks that "in the first three or four years of life we may observe the earliest

manifestations of hysteria, anxiety states, obsessions or sexperversions. If these are taken early enough they can fairly easily be rectified, so that perhaps in a few interviews we may prevent the development of a full-blown psycho-neuroses, which in later life might take two or three years to cure." In fact, my works as psychiatric social worker attached to different clinics has confirmed this. In studying the infantile background of the patients arriving for treatment at the clinics I have been struck by the peculiarities of their childhood behaviours as distinguished from those of their western counterparts described in books written mostly by Western authors. And this is only natural, because the traits of characters of children of our country are for obvious reasons of tradition, customs, religious beliefs, etc. are bound to be different from those of other countries, and as such, the results of investigations carried out in other countries available in books and periodicals cannot have any concrete applications in our country.

From our retrospective study of childhood symptoms of mental aberrations of several mentally-ill patients we are citing here only four cases for our purpose. In course of investigation it was found that those patients were showing some form of abnormal traits of behaviours from their early infancy though unnoticed by members of their families.

Case 1. Hindu female, aged 23 years, married. Diagnosis: Dementia Preacox. Present symptoms: Withdrawal of interests; she wants to live alone in a room; sometimes she hears the voice of her father; sometimes she smiles and sometimes she weeps for nothing. Heredity: Patient's mother once became insane and was cured afterwards. Her elder sister is insane. Early history: When she was a small child she had fit twice, her anger was excessive; she could not tolerate the presence of other siblings while sleeping with mother (excessive jealousy); when she was a girl of 3/4 years she became extremely ego-centric; she had the habit of collecting pebbles; thumb-sucking habit she had.

Case 2. Hindu male, aged 28 years, unmarried. Diagnosis: Manic-depressive psychosis. Present symptom: He talks incessantly, storm of ideas comes in his mind, but they have no consistency, they are incoherent in nature. He had similar excitement previously which lasted for ten days and then he became normal. Heredity: His mother is hysteric and extremely religious. Early history: From early infancy he was very much showy, emotional and talkative; he was fond of making friends; he had the habit of urinative

ing in the bed many times; he had the habit of thumb-sucking for ten years; at the age of 6 years he developed observationism and habit of stealing at the age of 8 years; on several occasions he indulged in homosexual acts.

Case 3. Muslim male, aged 26 years, unmarried. Diagnosis: Paranoia. Present symptoms: Excessive religious feelings; he considers himself to be demi-god; there is no loss of intellect; his father is his enemy and he wants to kill him, etc. Heredity: His father is eccentric and mother extremely religious and has washing mania of a severe type. Early history: From his boyhood he was a boy of arrogant type; he had the habit of masturbation which persisted up to his 20th year; he had the habit of urinating in bed; he was very much ego-centric; he was very intelligent but wayward; he cared for no body; at the age of 18 he developed the tendency of homo-sexuality.

Case 4. Hindu female, aged 28 years, unmarried. Diagnosis: Hysteria. Present symptoms: Occasional vomiting and fits. Apparent cause: A slight disturbance in the family. Heredity: her maternal grandmother was insane. Early history: She is the only child of her parents, her mother died when she was three years old, all along she was with her father, she could not tolerate father's separation, she was extremely emotional but of loving nature, she was fond of occult stories, she was afraid of spider very much, when she became angry she would throw away household goods and would tear her clothes, sometimes she would tear the clothes of her father, sometimes she in her emotional states would want to commit suicide either by taking poison or by drowning herself.

In our country cases of mental disorders are rapidly increasing with devastating consequences to many homes—this is clear to anybody without the help of statistics, any body having the most elementary sense of social well-being cannot afford to look to this intensifying phenomenon with unconcern. Science with all its resources and humanitarian spirit must come forward to find out ways and means to combat effectively the social malady which is increasingly assuming menacing appearances.

The need of thorough and systematic researches on childhood traits of mental disorders in the context of Indian situation cannot, under the circumstances, be overemphasised.

If these traits can be pinned down and the environment in which they develop into mental abnormalities ascertained, great possibility of preventing largely the growth of mental disorders can be created

through the elimination of those traits and rectification of those environments by suitable methods. As Prof. Hadfield holds that "Such investigation into the predisposing causes in early childhood is of the greatest value and not only for treatment. For it provides us with a complete picture of all the more important factors which produce a neurosis, and explains as nothing else can the present-day morbid attitudes of the patient. Not only so, but by throwing light upon the early causes of neuroses and behaviour disorders, it provides us with a clue as to their prevention, and thereby points the way to mental health."

In many Western countries works on these lines have been seriously undertaken and encouraging progress has been recorded. In our country also the supreme importance of these works have been widely recognised by unofficial organisations and persons associated with psycho-therapeutic activities.

If sufficiently large number of mental patients' childhood behaviours are thoroughly investigated, it is possible by means of statistical studies of these behaviours to pin down particular traits which generally give rise to mental disorders and thus to prevent largely the growth of mental disorders in our country by eliminating those traits by suitable methods.

Round the World

Royalty in Jordan

Late King Abdulla of Jordan was a pillar of British influence in the Middle East. He and his brother King Feisal of Iraq climbed to power by support of the British. In fact the kingdoms they presided over were carved out of the ruins of the Turkish Empire by the British Government. Besides, Abdulla's authority was sustained in Jordan by the army raised and officered by the same power. It was again by means of British favour that he found it possible to augment his territory sometime before his murder which was alleged to have been committed by some of those who accepted the leadership of the former Mufti of Jerusalem.

The murder of King Abdulla threatened to undermine British influence in the Middle East. With Egypt in a determined mood to free herself from British chains and with position rather uncertain in other Arab territories, Britain could ill afford to lose the steady alliance and support of Jordan. In view of this the succession to the throne of this tiny but important principality became a vital question. King Talal was not a favourite of his father. Possibly because the father was so friendly to the British Government and so susceptible to its influence, the heir-apparent reacted unfavourably against this attitude. Possibly his mind also has never been normal. On this point, however, it is difficult to dogmatise. We have too many instances in history of a prince's mind being proved unbalanced not because it was actually so but because he did not conform to the existing policy of the Government. King Thibaut's drinking is notorious in Anglo-Burman history. In any event when Abdulla died at the hands of an assassin, Talal was in Europe and was supposed to be recuperating from a mental lapse. For the time being a regency was set up and Talal's younger brother who had been a favourite of his father and known to be on good terms with the British presided over the administration of the kingdom. Talal was, however, allowed to return and claim his heritage. We do not know what happened behind the purdah to facilitate his accession to the throne. Possibly he gave a promise to maintain old relations with the British. Possibly the British Government did not want to alienate some influential sections by keeping Talal out of the throne. In any event Jordan came under the authority of Talal, and for ten months we did not hear of any trouble. Then he proceeded to Paris again for treatment. After that, news was broadcast throughout the world that Talal was off his reason. His activities in unsound mind were graphically described by news agencies and read with avidity by readers in every country. The most poignant of

these descriptions is that of the flight of his wife and younger child from his clutches into a secret Swiss clinic.

How many of these incidents actually happened and in what manner it is difficult to say. May be, Talal is not completely himself new. May be also that a case is being prepared for his dethronement. In this connection the name of his minor son, who is being trained at Harrow, is being mentioned for succession to the crown. But possibly for the time being the British would prefer the administration of Jordan to be run by the trusted Prime Minister to its being conducted by Talal's brother who also may be too independent for British purposes. Ultimately of course, the young prince whose life is being moulded at Harrow according to plan will be called upon to take up administration in his own hands. Then it is expected he will allow himself to be guided by proper advice.

Gandhiji and Kasturbai—Last Phase

Louis Fischer in his *Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (1951) gives some details of the relations between Gandhiji and Kasturbai in the Aga Khan's Palace where they were imprisoned and where Kasturbai died in 1944.

"Gandhi spent much time in prison teaching his wife Indian geography and other subjects. She failed, however, to memorize the names of the rivers of the Punjab, and on examination by Gandhi she said Lahore, which is the capital of the Punjab, was the capital of Calcutta, a city which is the capital of Bengal. He had little success in his persistent efforts to improve her reading and writing of Gujarati. She was seventy-four. Ba or Mother, as everybody called Mrs Gandhi, still paid homage to Brahmans for their high-caste status and regarded them as possessing special endowments; she asked one Brahman who worked in the jail when they would be released. But she had rid herself of anti-untouchable prejudices, was a regular spinner and a sincere but not uncritical Gandhian. One day she was annoyed with Gandhi and said to him, 'Didn't I tell you not to pick a quarrel with the mighty Government? You did not listen to me and now we all have to pay the penalty. The Government is using its limitless strength to crush the people.' 'Then what do you want me to do.....write to the Government and ask for their forgiveness?' No, she did not ask that. But, she exclaimed, 'why do you ask the British to leave India? Our country is vast. We can all live there. Let them stay if they like, but let them stay as brothers.' 'What else have I done?' Gandhi replied. 'I want them to go as rulers. Once they cease to be our rulers, we have no quarrel with them.' Ah, yes, she agreed with that. She apparently worshipped him without understanding.

Kasturbai was ailing, and in December 1943 she became seriously ill with chronic bronchitis. Dr. Gilder and Dr. Nayyar tended her, but she

asked for Dr. Dinshah Mehta, a nature cure expert who treated Gandhi, and an Ayurvedic or Indian medicine practitioner. In deference to her wishes, Gandhi bombarded the Government with letters to admit them. The practitioner tried all his art for a number of days during which the modern-medicine physicians withdrew from the patient. When he confessed defeat, Dr. Gilder, Dr. Nayyar and Dr. Jivraj Mehta resumed their efforts, but they too failed. The Government gave permission for her sons and grandsons to visit her. Ba especially asked for her first-born, Harilal, who had been estranged from his parents.

Gandhi sat by his wife's bed for many hours. He ordered all medicines to be stopped and all food except honey and water. It was more important, he said, for her to have peace with God. 'If God wills'; he said, 'she will pull through, else I would let her go, but I won't drug her any longer.'

Penicillin, then rare in India, was flown from Calcutta; Devadas insisted on it. 'Why do you not trust God?' Gandhi said to him. 'Do you wish to drug your mother even on her deathbed?' Gandhi had not known that penicillin was given by injection. On being told he forbade it. Most of the day, Gandhi sat on her bed, holding her hand. Fellow prisoners sang Hindu hymns. On February 21st Harilal arrived, summoned hastily by the Government. He was drunk and had to be removed from Kasturbai's presence. She cried and beat her forehead..... The next day, her head resting in Gandhi's lap, she died. At the funeral, Gandhi offered a prayer borrowed from Hindu, Parsi, Moslem and Christian scriptures. Devadas lit the pyre. The ashes were buried beside those of Mahadev Desai in the prison grounds.

When Gandhi returned from the cremation, he sat on his bed in silence and then from time to time, as the thoughts came, he spoke:

"I cannot imagine life without Ba.....Her passing has left vacuum which never will be filled.....We lived together for sixty-two years..... If I had allowed the penicillin it would not have saved her.....And she passed away in my lap. Could it be better? I am happy beyond measure."

Immediately after Kasturbai's death, Wavell said in a letter to the Mahatma, 'I take this opportunity to express to you deep sympathy from wife and myself at the death of Mrs. Gandhi. We understand what this loss must mean to you after so many years of companionship.'

Gandhi was touched. In his reply he wrote, 'Though for her sake I have welcomed her death as bringing freedom from living agony, I feel the loss more than I had thought I should.'

Linguistic Provinces

We are writing this paragraph with the partially reported proceedings of the debate in the House of the People on the thorny question of

redistributing the state territories in India on the basis of language before us. The proceedings, incomplete though they are, show a sharp cleavage of opinion on the subject. In the Congress Party also views were not the same. There were some who supported the principle whole-heartedly while others including the Prime Minister and the Home Minister opposed it. It should be remembered in this connection that it was the Indian National Congress which made linguistic provinces a plank in its platform. For congress organisational purposes in fact linguistic provinces became the rule. In the Congress organisation Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra are each of them a province, and people accustomed to such units for one purpose may inevitably ask for them for governmental purposes as well. Besides language is both a cementing and dissolving factor. It cements the unity of those who speak it and it divides them from others who speak a different tongue. So redistribution of state territories on a linguistic basis is a natural claim. But what is natural need not necessarily be good. The Congress leaders have by this time understood the danger to Indian nationhood which the establishment of monolingual provinces happens to involve. They have discovered their earlier mistake. They now fully appreciate the fact that too much of emphasis on provincial languages and the establishment of states on the basis of them will undermine and overwhelm Indian unity. People's first loyalty will be pledged to their linguistic states and only indifferently they will think in terms of India. In some cases there will be even a risk of secession from the Union.

The Communists on the other hand have now taken the cue from the older Congress advocacy in favour of linguistic provinces. This principle suits them admirably. They are convinced that more the solidarity of India as a nation grows, lesser are the chances of their creating chaos and disruption. What they want is to fish in troubled waters. The greater the division better are their chances of seizing power. Outwardly of course they would never argue in this vein. They would only expatiate on the virtues of linguistic provinces regarding the opportunities they will provide for maintaining and developing the mosaic culture of India. They would point to the example of the Soviet Union in which linguistic autonomy is provided for in the Constitution. But in this connection one thing should be particularly emphasised. The Soviet Union is not governed according to democratic process which we have adopted. There the government, whatever the provisions may formally be made in the Constitution, is a dictatorship. For instance, every Union Republic, created on the basis of its geographical position, linguistic affiliations and cultural traditions, has the right of secession. But, in practice any agitation started for such secession will be immediately treated as counter-evolutionary and nipped in the bud as unceremoniously and ruthlessly as possible. Then again whatever may be the emphasis on

the development of local languages and cultures, Russian language is now compulsory throughout the Union and the administration is run on the responsibility of the same party according to a policy dictated from Moscow. Any deviation from that policy is a crime to be ruthlessly punished. So a Russian parallel is hardly apposite. There what is apparent is not necessarily real.

The Communist resolution in the House of the People for linguistic provinces and Communist move in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly for making Bengali the medium of deliberation on its floor are, therefore, clear so far as the motive behind them is concerned. But besides Communists and fellow travellers, there are many others also who believe in and advocate linguistic provinces. This they do for various reasons. In the first place there are some who advocate this principle because it is an old plank in Congress platform and think, though erroneously, that it is progressive. There are again those who uphold the principle because its acceptance may provide an opportunity for them to flourish in superior political capacity. In some composite provinces they have now to give precedence to other leaders. But if bifurcation takes place their opportunity is likely to come. Lastly, there are those who believe that provinces created on a linguistic basis will at least be rid of the problems which dog the footsteps of Governments of states where more than one language has importance. In multilingual provinces a linguistic minority not unoften feels grievances and gives expression to them in diverse ways. This creates problems which cannot always be solved easily. The result is discontent and trouble. It may, therefore, be thought better if either new states are carved out on a linguistic basis or the boundaries of existing states are redrawn to accommodate better this principle.

Against this point of view it may be argued that India is a country with several hundred languages. If separate territory is to be found for all of them to flourish in, chaos alone will reign supreme. The fact is that inspite of its multilingual character India is one. People speaking different languages and having separate traditions will have to live together. It is better that this habit of living together is maintained not merely in the federal sphere but also in provincial spheres. If people affiliated to different linguistic groups may unite to make the central legislature and government a success, there is no reason why they may not so unite to enrich provincial life and government. Not only there must be give and take between different groups but what is more if one group is in an absolute majority and has opportunity of shaping the policy, it should so shape it as to make it not only acceptable but welcome to the other group or groups. Charity should begin at home. Habit of living together with other linguistic and racial groups should be formed first in the provinces and it will then extend further. Composite provinces instead of becoming

an evil as many declare them to be at the present time may actually become the best training ground for an Indian national.

Eisenhower becomes Republican Candidate

For many months past Senator Taft of Ohio, a near relation of the former President and Chief Justice, William Howard Taft, had been making every preparation possible for a decision in his favour by the Republican Party Convention at Chicago. There is no stone he left unturned in this regard. The party delegates, however, rallied at the crucial hour to the banner of General Eisenhower and chose him by overwhelming majority on the first ballot as the Party's candidate for the Presidential election in November next. Mr. Taft is a seasoned politician and has all the qualities which appeal to the party bosses. But over their head the rank and file have now nominated Eisenhower and rejected Taft's candidature.

None will deny that this selection has increased the Republican Party's chances of returning to power after a long exile. Of the fifty-two years of this century the Democratic Party has occupied the White House for twenty-eight years and the Republican Party twenty-four. In the second and the first two years of the third quarter of this century, however, the Republicans occupied the seat of authority only for seven years and that also twenty years before. In 1948 it was taken for granted in most circles that the Democrats had already run their course and the success of Dewey was certain. But all expectations roused by confident gallop polls were belied and Truman walked back to the White House on the crest of the wave of labour support given to him by the Congress of Industrial Organisations. This defeat of Dewey came as a tremendous shock to the Republican rank and file. They became convinced that if in the next election they could not set up a candidate who would be out of the ordinary and could on that account strike the imagination of the people as a whole, they would go down again in the face of opposition by organised labour. Their position in 1952 was in fact the same as the position of the Democrats in 1912. The latter had also been long out of power and found it impossible to carry through the elections their stereotyped candidates in the face of the solid opposition of the Republicans. So they at last pounced upon the suggestion of making Woodrow Wilson, a former University Professor and President who had captured popular imagination as an enemy of all vested rights, their Presidential candidate. In the present year the Republicans also in the same way thought that they must find out some one who had no past political accounts to settle and who had otherwise a record which has a direct appeal for the people. So General Eisenhower's name came up in their mind and then to their lips.

The General after his return in triumph from Europe where he served during the later phase of the second World War as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force allowed himself to be chosen as the President of the Columbia University. But he could not long continue in this position. Soon call came to him from the White House for being named as the Supreme Commander of the N.A.T.O. forces in Europe. It was before he left for Europe for the second time that the air was thick in the United States with the rumour that he would be set up as Republican candidate for Presidential election. He did not, however, commit himself and proceeded to take up his new responsibility entrusted to him by President Truman. Later he pointed out in Europe that he was a Republican and had voted on previous occasions on republican ticket. He would not seek candidature but if it was offered to him by his party, he would accept it, provided Mr. Truman did not stand again for the Presidency. Mr. Truman obliged him by his declaration that he would not be a candidate again. It is, of course, not very clear at the time of writing as to what value is to be attached to this declaration. But for Eisenhower it was enough. His supporters became increasingly vociferous in spite of Taft and the Republican Party bosses and the General had ultimately to join the election fray. And to-day he is the party candidate.

It may be repeated that his choice in this capacity has increased party's chances of winning the election in November. There are, however, two factors to be reckoned with. As a campaigner he is new to the field and has developed no skill so far. During the next three months he must cultivate better the art of approaching the voters and speaking to them the right things in the right way. These are political arts which do not come naturally to him and which he had little opportunity of learning in his army career. It is not expected that overnight he will become as effective a campaigner as the second Roosevelt. But it is expected that by practice he will make a better display of the solid qualities of his mind and heart. The second factor is the future of Mr. Truman. The Constitution does not stand in the way of his becoming a candidate again for election this year. But all the same twice he has gone out of his way to declare his unwillingness to stand. There are still many who are loath to accept these declarations as his final decision to return to private life. They believe that if it is made clear to him that with him as a candidate the Democratic Party may get back to power and without him it will be driven into wilderness, he may relax and agree to be nominated by the Party Convention. If circumstances shape themselves in this line, Eisenhower's chances for victory may recede. The people of the United States have fared on the whole very well during the period of Democratic power. There is no special reason for those who have voted previously for the Democratic candidate to be angry and walk over to the

other camp. In the absence of Truman's candidature there will of course be considerable difficulty for the Democratic Convention to make a choice which, in these difficult times, may appeal to the imagination of the general voters. The latter may then justifiably think that Eisenhower with his great war record should be entrusted with the supreme responsibility of leading the nation.

There may naturally be speculation as to what kind of President Eisenhower will make, if he is elected next November. In this regard it is necessary to point out that a political office and a military office require different qualities of leadership. As Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force Eisenhower would have only one objective and that was to win the war within as a short time and at as little expense as possible. All other considerations were of no account to him. He has himself put it on record in his famous book, *Crusade in Europe*, that the British Premier, Mr. Churchill, once tried to win him over to his viewpoint that through southern French ports a great force might be brought into the continent not for reinforcing and strengthening Eisenhower's forces but to be taken *via* Italy to South-East Europe. The objective was evidently political, though Churchill did not so admit. Eisenhower turned down the proposal because he was not concerned with post-war politics but with winning the war without delay. As President he will, however, to think both of military objectives and political consequences. It has not yet been proved how far his mind has still the elasticity to be switched over from one aspect to another aspect of a problem. For too long he had been accustomed to concentrate on one main question.

As Supreme Commander again he would consult his associates about an issue which had arisen and then come to some decision. Right or wrong that was to be obeyed by all. As President he would not have that enviable position. Whatever decision he may take he will be open to attacks. Whether he will learn the art of appeasing and conciliating the possible opponents, it is too early to say anything. People inexperienced in this art may travel from one extreme to another. Sometimes they may on an unimportant issue completely alienate powerful men. Sometimes, however, even on a vital matter they may yield too much. That is the way of failure. Then again as Supreme Commander Eisenhower had absolute assurance from the United States Chief of Staff that he would be fully entitled to retain in the army only those who worked to his satisfaction. As President he may not as a rule have that opportunity. He will be required to work with the help of many subordinates whose activities may not give him satisfaction. Ulysses Grant acquired as great a military reputation during the Civil War as

Eisenhower did during World War II. But as President, Grant was an abject failure. We should not predict any such failure for Eisenhower, if he is elected to the Presidency. But we should refer to the fact that as President of the Columbia University he cannot be said to have acquitted himself as creditably as he was once expected to do. That shows that accustomed to work in a sphere of military discipline he finds it difficult to adjust himself to other conditions of work. Let us, however, hope that he will learn by experience and improve by mistakes.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Task of Peace-Making.—Published By Visva-Bharati, Calcutta. P. 181. Price Rs. 5.

The book embodies the Reports of the World Pacifist Meeting held at Santiniketan and Sevagram in December, 1949. It opens with a Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad who presided over the Sevagram session and contains an Introduction by Horace Alexander of the Society of Friends who largely took the initiative in organising the Meeting. The rest of the book provides a summary of the day-to-day proceedings of the Meeting held in different places.

"The idea of having a meeting of Pacifists was broached while Mahatma Gandhi was alive", says Dr. Rajendra Prasad. "He had agreed to attend the meeting when it was held, and was in fact in contact with the organizers who were acting under his guidance. He felt, however, that it would not be desirable to have this meeting while the British army was still in India and so the meeting was put off. But before it could take place, he was taken away from us. The organizers had, therefore, to take a decision whether to proceed with the convening of the meeting or give it up as the chief attraction for holding it here was Mahatma Gandhi. The meeting did ultimately come to be held in December, 1949."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad tells us the reasons for holding the meeting in Santiniketan and Sevagram. "This Pacifist meeting took place at two centres, each of which is unique in its own way. Santiniketan is the institution of Poet Rabindranath Tagore, and has the hall-mark of his great genius and personality. Sevagram is the place where Gandhiji's constructive activities had their abode and where he spent many years organizing them and through them the country as a whole. Each has got a body of persons devoted to the Master and each has his aroma in the atmosphere. Earnest seekers after peace came from different parts of the world, discussed and consulted with one another the great problems which are agitating humanity today, and imbibed what they could not only from the atmosphere but also by coming in contact with those who had had the privilege of working under the Master."

Attendance was kept low but the Indian Invitation Committee working in collaboration with groups of Quakers in London and Philadelphia issued invitations in such a manner as to ensure maximum variety of representation. The visitors from outside were to stay in India at least for a month so that they might have opportunity of acclimatising themselves to the atmosphere of Indian thought.

Ourselves

SECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION

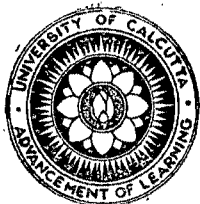
The Government of India has announced the appointment of a Secondary Education Commission which will shortly enquire into and report upon the working of the institutions for secondary education in different states of India and make recommendations for their improvement.

In this regard our memory naturally goes back to the appointment of the University Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the enquiry that it made in different centres of learning and the report and recommendations that it submitted to the Government of India in 1949. No serious attempt has so far been made to implement these recommendations in most parts of the country. Reasons for this are two. In the first place money that would be necessary to give effect to these recommendations was not forthcoming. Post-independence financial boom was soon over and by the time the University Commission submitted its report both the Central and State Governments were overtaken by financial difficulties. The second reason is to be found in the great diversity of University organisations in India for which reform on a uniform basis may not be possible. Although originally the British Government had the intention of running different Indian Universities on the same pattern, during the last four decades uniformity has given place to diversity. During this period separate traditions have been built up in different University centres and higher education has been run in different parts of the country on different organisational and curricular basis.

There is the Inter-University Board no doubt. But it is only a clearing house of ideas and even in this regard it is not a very effective body. Other than this again there is no institution to co-ordinate the activities of different Universities. Higher education is ordinarily a provincial subject but for purposes of co-ordination, etc., the Central Government has been given some power by the Constitution Act. It has been announced that under the authority thus conferred upon the Central Government it will soon introduce a bill providing for the establishment of a National Council of University Education.

Its object would be to bring about some uniformity where diversity now rules. We do not know if this uniformity will be sought only in the curricula of studies, qualifications and salary scales of teachers and similar other matters or whether it will seek also some kind of uniformity in organisational questions as well. While this National Council has not yet been set up and while its activities are still in the womb of the future, it will not be improper for us to say that Professor Radhakrishnan and his colleagues on the Commission practically worked in vain. Their recommendations remain mainly pigeon-holed in Government archives.

In view of what has overtaken the Report of the Radhakrishnan Commission many people may not enthuse over the announcement of the appointment of a Commission on Secondary Education. A periodical investigation as to the state of things in any branch of education should, of course, always be welcome. It shakes off complacency and brings out into relief both the virtues to be further encouraged and emphasised and the drawbacks to be removed. But the problem of secondary education, particularly in this province, is chiefly a financial one. The Commission in its recommendations may raise hopes in the mind of the half-starved teachers. But will it be possible for the Governments concerned to fulfil these hopes? If that is not possible, it is better that no recommendations are made and expectations roused in the matter? Then again as in the case of University Education so in the case of secondary education different areas have now built up separate traditions and are confronted with separate problems. It will be a difficult, if not an impossible, task for an All-India Commission to study these separate traditions and make recommendations applicable to all parts of the country. It is true that certain uniform common principles in regard to some important matters, e.g., medium of instruction, salary-scales and qualifications of teachers, constitution and composition of managing committees and the nature of higher supervision and control are necessary. But we are not sure if recommendations made on these subjects will be easy to implement everywhere. Problems may really be too divergent for solution on a uniform basis. In the early thirties when an enquiry into Indian Banking was instituted, it was done on a two-tier basis. There was to be a Central Banking Enquiry Committee and for each province there was to be a Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee. The latter committees were really auxiliary bodies. Problems of Secondary Education may possibly be probed more effectively on the same lines.



Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification—Intermediate, B.A., B.Sc. and B.T. Examinations, 1953.

It is hereby notified for general information that the following dates have been fixed within which applications from Teachers including Laboratory Assistants, Demonstrators and Librarians of affiliated colleges and also from female candidates for permission to appear at the Intermediate, B.A., B.Sc. and B.T. Examinations in 1953 as non-collegiate students will be received :—

- (a) I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations in 1953 Saturday, the 15th November, 1952.
- (b) B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations in 1953 Saturday, the 13th December, 1952.
- (c) B.T. Examination in 1953 Saturday, the 17th January, 1953.

Note.—All applications for necessary permission are to be submitted in the prescribed form which may be had from the office of the undersigned, and should be supported in each case by the usual Non-Collegiate Student's fee of Rs. 20.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 19th June, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

Notification No. C/1528/90/Aff., dated 11. 6. 52.

It is notified for general information that under Sec. 22, read with Sub-section (3) of Sec. 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1950-51 the Manimala Girls' College now renamed, Radha Devi Karnani Women's College, Asansol, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Botany and Biology to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1952 and not earlier.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

Notification No. R/7/52/C. S.R.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXVII-E of the Regulations (edition of 1951) relating to the Diploma Course in Journalism have been sanctioned by Government :—

"In page 483, Papers V and VI under (A) Theoretical in Section 10 be replaced by the following :—

Paper V.—Any one of the following :—

(a) Literature and Art, (b) Scientific and Cultural Trends, (c) Sports, Stage and Screen, (d) Editing of Monthlies and Periodicals.

Paper VI.—Any one of the following :—

(a) Business of Journalism, (b) Commercial Journalism, (c) Art of Advertisement and Layout, (d) Press and Production.

The changes noted above shall be given effect to from the examination of 1952.

SENATE HOUSE
The 1st July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. R/8/52/C.S.R.

It is notified for general information that the following syllabus of studies for the Diploma Course in Child Health (Chapter XLIX-F) has been sanctioned by the Syndicate :—

A. *Applied Anatomy and Physiology.*

Embryology

Physiology of the new born

Growth and development, assessment of physical and mental age.

Blood formation
 Assessment of nutrition and nutritional requirement
 Water and electrolyte balance
 Anatomical variations in childhood
 Mental and emotional development.

B. *Feeding and Dietetics*

Determination of food requirements
 Infant feeding, breast feeding, artificial feeding
 Feeding in older age period
 Dietetics of the sick child
 Folk diet

C. *Diseases of children and their prevention*

Disorders of the new born
 Nutritional and deficiency disorders
 Digestive disturbances, Diarrhoeas and Dysenteries in infancy and childhood
 Helminthic infections
 Tuberculosis
 Rheumatic affection
 Syphilis
 Diseases of respiratory system
 Diseases of the Cardio-vascular system
 Peripheral vascular diseases—Acrodynia
 Diseases of blood
 Diseases of the lymphatic system
 Diseases of the liver.
 Diseases of the kidney and urinary tract.
 Tropical diseases
 Diseases of metabolism—including inborn errors of metabolism
 Amyloidosis, Glycogen disease, Lipo-dystrophy
 Allergic diseases
 Endocrine disorders
 Diseases of the nervous system
 Convulsion
 Mental defect and cerebral palsy
 Behaviour problems and other psychological disorders
 Common Surgical diseases.
 Common diseases of the eye, ear, nose and throat
 Common skin diseases
 Dentition and dental disorders.

D. *Public Health Legislations and Cognate Subjects in relation to Child Health.*

Child welfare and child protection legislations in India
 Comparative study of legislations of other countries
 Vital statistics
 Care of the healthy child
 Functions and working of child welfare centres, day nurseries, kindergarten, child-guidance clinics
 School medical service and dental service, care of the handicapped children—homeless, deaf, dumb, mentally defective, etc.
 Juvenile courts.

E. *Therapeutics in Pediatrics.*

General care of the sick children
 Specific drugs and their use
 Other important drugs commonly used in pediatric practice
 Ancillary treatment
 Parenteral fluid therapy
 Physiotherapy.

F. *Anaesthesia*

II. Lecture demonstrations.

Communicable diseases

Small pox, Chicken pox, Diphtheria, Measles, Rubella, Whooping Cough, Mumps, Meningitis, Enteric Fever, Diarrhoeas and Dysenteries, Cholera, Anterior, Polio-myelitis, Tetanus, Ophthalmia Neonatorum, Congenital Syphilis, Other common infectious diseases.

Immunology

Prophylactic measures

III. Lecture demonstrations

—20 hours.

Pathology and Bacteriology

Collection of material and common pathological technique. Common bacteriological and bio-chemical methods.

Examination of throat swab, blood, marrow fluid, urine, stool, cerebro-spinal fluid pus, 60_2 combining-power, protein, sugar, calcium, chlorides, phosphates, urea and N. P. N., Icterus index, cholesterol, alkaline phosphatase.

Functional tests, W.P., Blood grouping and matching

Principles of serological procedures—W R., Kaha tests, Widal reactions, etc. Immunity and allergy tests

Special pathology of respiratory, cardiovascular and nervous systems, liver, spleen, endocrine, kidney and urinary tract, bones

Parasitic and bacterial infection of intestines

Deficiency diseases

Radiological examination in children.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 4th July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

The undermentioned candidate for the Pre-Medical Examination held in April, 1952, who was proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination, has been disqualified from passing the Pre-Medical Examination held in April, 1952 :—

Roll No.	Enrol. No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	College
44	PMH 32	Satya Kam Sethi	L. Gobind Kam Sethi	Hindu

T. P. S. IYER,
Registrar.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY (SOLAN)

Notification

It is hereby notified that—

1. Permission granted to candidates to appear in M.A. (Persian) Examination, 1952, as private candidates, has been extended to the Examination of 1953, owing to the fact that absence of instruction for this examination in any affiliated college still continues.

2. The Diploma in Journalism Examination will be held on August 26, instead of September 5, 1952.

3. The following examinations have been revived :—

(i) F.O.L., B.O.L. and M.O.L.

(ii) Panjabi Examinations in Persian Script.

4. Shri Mahesh Indar Singh Sodhi s/o Tikka Harbhajan Singh Sodhi, P.O. Anandpur, District Hoshiarpur, who secured admission to the 1st-year class of Lyallpur Khalsa College, Jullundur City, on the basis of false affidavit of having passed the Pre-senior Examination of Aitchison College, Lahore, in 1946, is disqualified as being not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any University Examination in future.

5. For making deliberate previous arrangement to impersonate in the Examination Hall

(a) the results of the following candidates have been quashed :—

(1) Kailash Chand Sud, Roll No. 4345, B.A. Examination, April, 1951.

(2) Nihal Singh, Roll No. 4145, B.A. Examination, April, 1951.

(3) Hardial Singh, Roll No. 17183, Matriculation Examination, 1951. and

(b) the following persons have been disqualified as under :—

(1) M. M. Bhatnagar s/o Shri Jugmohan Lal, 8/1, Western Extension Area, Karol Bagh, Delhi—5.—from appearing in any future examination.

(2) Bhapur Singh s/o S. Rur Singh, Ahluwalia Street, Patiala—for 5 years.

(3) Sardool Singh s/o S. Udham Singh, 1st year student, D. M. College, Moga—for 5 years.

(4) Jai Bhagwan s/o L. Bishamber Dyal, 2nd-year student, Vaish College, Rohtak—for 5 years.

Solan : (Simla Hills).
Dated : June 10, 1952.

BHUPAL SINGH,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE.

No. Ex. 4-235/51-52.

Notification.

MALPRACTICE AT THE ENGINEERING EXAMINATION IN MARCH-APRIL, 1952.

Pursuant to the Resolution of the University Council at the meeting held on 29-5-1952 the candidate bearing the following Register No. has been rusticated from the First Examination in Engineering for the period noted :—

Centre	Examination and Reg. No.	Name and Address	Period of Rustication	Examination in which he can appear
1. B. M. Sreenivasiah College of Engineering, Bangalore	First Examination in Engineering, Reg. No. 574	Suraiah Setty, S/o Esthni Ananthaiah Gudibanda (Via) Chickballapur, Kolar Dist.	Two years	March, 1954

By Order,
C. RANGACHAR,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE.

No. Ex. 3-128/51-52.

Notification

MALPRACTICE AT THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION OF MARCH-APRIL, 1952.

Pursuant to the resolution of the University Council at the meeting held on Thursday the 29th May, 1952, the candidates bearing the following Register Numbers have been rusticated from the Intermediate Examination for a period of two years, (i.e., for four examinations). They may appear for March, 1954 Examinations :—

Centre	Reg. No.	Name and Address
Maharani's College for Women, Bangalore.	1649	A. R. Sarvamangala Devi, C/o Sri A. N. Rama Rao, B.A., B.L. Advocate. "Annapurna" Visveswarapura, Bangalore.
Intermediate College, Bangalore.	2642	K. V. Ananda Murthy, C/o K. Venkatanarayanappa, Middle School Teacher, Kadaba, Gubbi Taluk.
Intermediate College, Bangalore.	3357	M. Karuna Karan, S/o Sri B. Maibhavan, 13th Cross, Morgosa Road, Bangalore 3.
Intermediate College, Bangalore, Hassan.	4380	K. H. Bommalingaiah, S/o Sri Honnaiah, Land Holders, Kodihally, Kestur Post, Tumkur.

By Order,
C. RANGACHAR,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE.

No. Ex. 2-254/52-53.

Notification

MALPRACTICE AT THE D.Sc. DEGREE EXAMINATION OF MARCH-APRIL, 1952

Pursuant to the resolution of the University Council at the meeting held on Thursday the 29th May, 1952, the candidates bearing the following Register numbers have been rusti-

cated from the B.Sc. Degree Examination for a period of two years (*i.e.*, for four examinations). They may appear for March, 1954 examination :

Centre	Reg. No.	Name and Address
Central College, Bangalore	802	Sri T. M. Srivanandaiya, S/o Sri T. M. T. Rudrappaiya, Land Lord, Davangere.
Central College, Bangalore	823	R. Srinivasan, C/o Sri R. Ramaswamiaya, Land Lord, Anekal, Bangalore District.
Central College, Bangalore.	849	C. S. Venkatarathnam Setty, 74, Mandy Bazar, Chikkaballapur, (Kolar District).

By Order,
C. RANGACHAR,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

No. Ex. 3-128/52-53.

Notification

MALPRACTICE AT THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION OF MARCH-APRIL, 1952.

Pursuant to the resolution of the University Council at the meeting held on 14th and 15th June, 1952, the following candidates are rusticated from the March-April, 1952 Examinations. They may appear for September, 1952 Examinations.

Centre	Reg. No.	Name and address
1. First Grade College, Mysore.	487	Abdul Hafiz Khan, S/o Abdul Majid Khan, C/o M. Sharifuddin Khan, Teacher, Sharadavilas High School, 3326, 2nd Edigah, Mysore.
2. First Grade College, Mysore.	489	R. Abdul Salam, 67/14, New Sayaji Rao Road, Mysore.

By Order,
C. RANGACHAR,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA

No. 13890-964, Dated 11th June, 1952.

Notification

It is hereby notified for general information that Mr. Padam Singh S/o Kan Singh of S. M. K. Inter College, Jodhpur, has been debarred from appearing at any examination of this University for two years, *i.e.*, up to 30th June, 1954, as he tampered with the entries in the Matriculation certificate granted by the Punjab University, Solan.

R. K. AGARWAL,
I/c. Registrar,
University of Rajputana, Jaipur.

UNIVERSITY OF POONA.

Ganeshkhind, Poona 7. June 16, 1952.

Circular No. 532.

A reference is invited to this Office Circular No. Ex/Bar, dated the 12th June, 1952 and you are requested to note the following correction in column one of the said Circular :—
"Seat Number of Bhagwat Sulochana Damodar should be read as 510 instead of 570."

M. A. MOGHE,
Registrar.

NOTIFICATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF POONA.

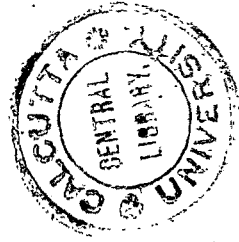
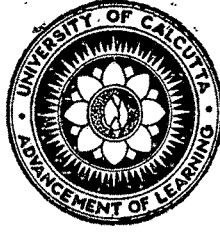
No. Ex/Bar/. Dated 12th June, 1952.

It is hereby notified that the undermentioned candidates who have been found guilty of having resorted to unfair means at the University Examinations held in March/April, 1952, are declared to have failed at the respective examinations, and that they have further been debarred from appearing at any Examinations of this University before the dates mentioned against their respective names :—

Candidate No.	Name of the candidate	Examination at which appeared	College	Date until which debarred
636	Kale, Ramchandra Keshav	Int. Arts.	S. P. College, Poona	1st Jan., 1955
1900	Bhalke, Baburao Shankara	Do.	Dayanand, Sholapur	1st Jan., 1954
672	Pant, Amrit Bhawanrao	Do.	Rajaram Kolhapur	Do.
94	Chandorkar, Nilkantha Vasudeo	Do.	Fergusson, Poona	1st Jan., 1955
2133	Kulkarni, Bhaskar Haribhan	Do.	M. J. Arts and Sc. Jalgaon	Do.
328	Pendse, Manohar Gajanan	Int. Science	S. P. College, Poona	1st Jan., 1954
510	Bhagwat, Sulechana Damodar	Do.	Fergusson, Poona	Do.
925	Shah, Navinchandra Prabhudas	Do.	N. Wadia, Poona	Do.
2188	Mulla, Abdus Samad Abdul Kadir	Do.	Ahmednagar, Ahmednagar	Do.
128	Phadtare, Trivikrama Chintaman	B.A.	S. P. C., Poona	Do.

University of Poona,
Ganeshkhind, Poona 7.

M. A. MOGHE,
Registrar.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1952

INDUS PEOPLE AND INDUS RELIGION INDUS RELIGION—(I)

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

The religion of the Indus people has been discussed in some detail by Sir John Marshall in his monumental work, by Sir Aurel Stein in his reports of archaeological explorations in Baluchistan, by Dr. Mackay in his work and by a host of other scholars. It is a testimony to the very high intrinsic merit of Sir John's authoritative interpretation of the archaeological objects of religious import found at the pre-historic sites at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and elsewhere, that the tendency of the literature produced on the subject is either towards unqualified acceptance of his views or qualified acceptance of them in some quarters while efforts are being continually directed to producing new evidence, adding new illustrations throwing more light from the old Sanskrit texts on diverse points raised and amplifying the theories advanced by Sir John. Our purpose here is not to enter into full details of the discussions on the import of various finds illustrative of the religious ideas of the Indus people but to take stock of the different elements of their religion which have expression in works of art. It is needless to say that we have utilised Sir John's interpretation of these objects as the basis for further investigation and elucidation of the points raised. The object of investigation is to find out whether the elements of the religion of the Indus people throw any light on our findings about their racial affinities.

It is proposed to examine the elements of the religion of the Indus people under the following heads : 1) Anthropomorphism and

Zoomorphism 2) Male deities 3) Female deities 4) Tree worship 5) Sacred animals 6) Phallicism 7) Human sacrifice 8) Yogic posture 9) Symbols 10) Magic and amulets 11) Priesthood 12) Temples 13) Methods of burial.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM AND ZOOMORPHISM

Various seals, sealings and statues, etc., prove that anthropomorphism was highly developed among the Indus people. Numerous female figurines with elaborate ornaments and different types of headdress, which Marshall regard as representations of mother-goddesses and representations of cult scenes in which both deities and their devotees feature, show that they were accustomed to give concrete expression, through art, to their conceptions religious and otherwise. As we have no literature left by the Indus people—the writings in the seals still await authoritative decipherment,—explaining their religious ideas it is not possible to say what were exactly the conceptions that were sought to be embodied in each case, and as a result interpretations have to be accepted as tentative in many cases. Accepting this limitation imposed by our lack of full information it may be said that in some cases the anthropomorphic representations of Indus deities show more developed conception than the early Mesopotamian representations show. Mention may be made of the well known Harappa sealing (M.I.C. Pl. XII, 12). Several figures represented in the familiar yogic posture (e.g. carved seal brought to light by Dr. Mackay M.I.C. Pl. XII, 1; also Pl. XCVIII; two faience sealings Pl. CXVI, 29, CXVIII, 11, etc.) illustrate a high development in anthropomorphic conception of divinity. The carved seal (M.I.C. Pl. XII, 11) which represents a three-headed deity, the representation of the tree-goddess appearing between two branches (M.I.C. Pl. XII, 18) and several other seals and sealings also testify to the high level reached by the Indus people in this respect. There is no clear evidence to show that they were equally capable of abstract conception of divinity; but the discovery of several types of symbols of undoubted religious import indicates that they had proceeded far beyond the stage of fetish and image worship. The three-headed deity, if the interpretation that the carved seal represents a triad of deities is correct, is a clear evidence of their power of abstract conception. The goddess with a plant issuing out of her womb as represented in the Harappa sealing is a goddess of vegetation and the sealing proves that the Indus people were capable of or had passed through the stage

of conception of departmentalised deities. The tree-goddess mentioned above may be regarded as the representation of another departmentalised deity.

There is a large number of representations of animals—often composite animals—with human faces. These representations probably belong to an intermediate stage between zoomorphism and anthropomorphism. There are, however, no data for determining whether zoomorphism preceded anthropomorphism in the Indus religion or was jointly developed with it.

The Indus people were both idolatrous and zoolatrous as their works of art show. Among representations of animals to which it is possible to give religious significance there are animals with sacred adjuncts, animals which appear in association with deities and in cult scenes and semi-human animals or composite animals with human faces which may be mythical beings expressing in art the conception of deity in a stage when it was regarded as half human and half animal. There is no clear evidence to show that any of the animals represented was regarded as the vehicle of a deity. Marshall writes, "It is important for the subsequent history of Indian religion to observe that at this remote age anthropomorphism is going hand in hand with theriomorphism, that the Nagas seem to have assumed the quasi-human form that has distinguished them throughout the ages, bulls appear with human heads and bodies, bull's horns have become a symbol of divinity and syncretic chimerical creatures are also provided with human faces. This does not necessarily mean that theriomorphism preceded in India. It may have done so but there is no proof of it. The two may equally have developed side by side." (M.I.C.I. p. 74).*

MALE DEITIES

There are two types of figures recognisable as male deities, the three-faced and the one-faced types. Both types have a common feature, the familiar yogic posture. There are no representations of deities carrying arms or riding animals. What attributes were given to male deities are not clear except in a few cases. To these cases we shall refer presently. The one-faced type of deity appears under

* Male deities : (1) Marshall M.I.C.I. PL. XII, 17. A carved seal brought to light by Dr. Mackay (No. 420 in Mackay's list, (2) Three seals; Mackay: Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro Vol. II Pl. XXXIII Figs. 222, 235; Pl. XCIV Fig. 20. (3) Two Mohenjo Daro seals M.I.C. III PL. CXVI, 29 Pl. CXVIII, 11 (4) Triangular terracotta prism sealing described by Vats, Excavations at Harappa Vol. I p. 129 Vol. II Pl. XCIII, 310 Third face. (5) Oblong terracotta sealing Vats *op. cit.* pp. 129-130, Pl. XCIII., 303. Obverse.

different environments in seals and sealings representing cult scenes or simple mythological scenes. The three seals (Nos. 222, 235 and Fig. 20 in Pl. XCIV) show figure seated in the familiar yogic posture. The head-dresses are surmounted by plant motif. Mackay is doubtful whether what has been described as horns on these figures as well as in the three-faced figure in seal No. 420 (M.I.C. Pl. XII, 17) are really horns. Again, the figures in seals Nos. 222 and 235 lack the supposed *urddhvalinga* feature noticed in seal No. 420. The two Mohenjo Daro seals described by Marshall (M.I.C. III CVI, 29 and CVIII, 11) show figure seated in the same yogic posture. They also show kneeling half-human and half-animal form of a Naga with hands uplifted in prayer. Among seals representing mythological scenes the third face of the triangular terracotta prism described by Vats shows figure seated in the same yogic posture. It also shows a figure to the right seated on its haunches (Vats, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 129), probably a votary. The obverse of the oblong terracotta sealing described by Vats (*ibid* pp. 129-130) shows figure seated in the same posture on a low throne, some animals to the right of the figure and a man attacking a tiger. What connection the seated figure may have with the tiger hunt is not clear. Probably it indicates association with animals. The appearance of serpents (in half human form) in an attitude of adoration on the Mohenjo Daro seals would show that the seated figure was an object of worship and it was associated with the snake cult. The common yogic posture of the figures in all the seals noted above would indicate that the yogic posture was regarded as a mark or symbol of divinity.

This mark of divinity is present in the three-faced type of deity in the carved seal discovered by Dr. Mackay at Mohenjo Daro (M.I.C. Vol. I Pl. XII, 17). This seal demands a more detailed notice as Marshall has interpreted it as the proto-type of Siva.

MARSHALL'S PROTO-TYPE OF SIVA.

The seal is described as follows by Marshall : "The God is three faced, seated on a low throne in a typical attitude of yoga, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched his hands with thumbs to front, resting on his knees.....round his waist a double band. The lower limbs are bare and the phallus seemingly exposed. To either side of the God are four animals, an elephant and tiger on his proper side and a rhinoceros and buffalo on his left. Beneath the throne are two deer

standing with heads regardant " Lastly, " Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall headdress." (Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 52). From these several features he has tried to affiliate to deity represented on the seal to Rudra-Siva. We would discuss these features under the following heads: (1) three faces (2) the attitude of yoga (3) ithyphallicism (4) connection with animals (5) pair of horns. Three faces:

Siva is variously described as being one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, four-faced, five-faced, six-faced, many-faced, etc., in the *Mahabharata* (Mbh. Anus/14 ch., Santi/284 ch.). Marshall has referred to some examples extant of the three-faced image of the god. (See refs. in Marshall to T. A. G. Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* Vol. II, Pt. 1). There are three-headed, and one-headed and four-armed representations of Siva in some gold coins of Huviska and in Vasudeva's coins. (J. N. Banerjee, some Emblems of Siva in the early Coins and Seals I. H. Q. XII, 1940, pp. 131-134). But mediaeval images of Siva in his different aspects are not generally three-headed. In the popular *dhyana* of Siva he is conceived of as having three eyes and not as having three faces.* Marshall after identifying the figure as the proto-type of Siva proceeds to explain that "This three-faced god from Mohenjo Daro may be a syncretic form of three deities rolled into one" and he takes his stand on the ground that the conception of the triad or trinity was old in India. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar accepts Marshall's suggestion that the three faces illustrate syncretic representations of three deities and he connects this three-facedness with the Vedic Rudra's epithet *tryambaka* (Siva of Pre-historic India, J. J. S. O. A. June, Dec., 1937). It should be noted that three faces do not appear in the other specimens referred to above showing the same attitude of yoga. In the next place, polycephalousness is not a special feature of Siva. Skanda is six-headed, Brahma is four-headed and Siva is more often one-headed than three or five-headed. Moreover, the trinitarian conception belongs more properly to the Epics and Puranas than to the Vedas. It does not appear to have found expression in the early sacred literature in the manner explained by Marshall. In Trimurti we have merely separate hypostatisation of the three attributes of the Supreme Being. Thus the Maitryana Upanisad explains that Brahma Visnu

* In one form of dhyana he is meditated on as having five faces....

यादित्रिंशं महेशं रजतगिरिनिभं चारुचन्द्रावतंसं रत्नोक्त्युज्ज्वलां

पंचवक्त्रं दिनेलं etc. Kriya Kanda Varidhi, Vol. I/741.

and Rudra are manifestations of Brahma (Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 271). Similarly we find that in the conception of *Ardhvanarīswara* the androgynous character of the Supreme Being who is both male and female is expressed. (See Rao, Vol. II., Pt. 1, Pl. XCV, Figs. 1 and 2. Cp. also the Haryardha murti, Pl. XCIX). It has been said that Dr. Bhandarkar interprets the *trāyāmvaka* epithet of Rudra in the R̥gveda as having three faces. This interpretation cannot be supported from the context in which the epithet occurs in the text (स्त्रवकं यजामहे सुगन्धि पुष्टिवर्धन Rv. VII. 59. 12.) Keith explains it as connected with three seasons or three worlds. By other scholars it is interpreted as having three mothers. Keith thinks that the *Trāyāmvaka* offering of the Śrauta ritual does not support the above view. (Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, Vol. 31, p. 149.)

THE YOGIC POSTURE

The posture corresponding to the *kumarasana* of later times, of the three-faced figure is the familiar attitude of one absorbed in meditation. Perhaps it is this yogic posture which has led Marshall and others more than any other consideration, to accept this three-faced figure as the proto-type of Rudra-Siva, because Siva alone of all the old gods, is connected with yoga or asceticism. His connection with yoga, however, dates from the Mahabharata in which he is described as *tapasvi*, *mahātāpā*, *ghorātāpā*, *yogēśwara*, *mahāyogi*, etc. (Mbh. Anus/17, Drona/20, Santi/289). The Vedic Rudra is not an ascetic god; asceticism is a newly-acquired attribute of his in epic times. The yogic posture alone, apart from other considerations, is valueless as an argument for identifying the three-faced figure with Rudra-Siva because the same posture also characterises the one-faced types noticed by us above. It may be pointed out further that regarding seated representations of Siva in later age Silparatna lays down that in such seated representations (*sukhasanamurti* and other varieties "the image should be seated erectly upon a *bhadrāpitha* with its left leg bent and resting upon the seat and the right hanging down below it" (Rao, Elements, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 129f.) In only one mode of representation of Siva in the *yogada-dakṣiṇāmurti* the attitude is in *padmasana* (cross-legged) (*Ibid.* Pl. LXXII), but in the second as well as in the third mode of representation of the same form "the left leg is to be bent in the *utkutikasana* while the right leg should be hanging down the seat" (*ibid.* pp. 284, 285). We are of opinion

that the yogic posture which is common to both one-faced and three-faced figures on the Indus seals and sealings is a mark of divinity. What the implications of this posture may be we shall discuss later. For the present we may draw attention to the parallelism between this posture and the posture of the Dhyani Buddha images as pointed out by Rama Prasad Chanda.

Rama Prasad Chanda has an illuminating suggestion to offer on this yogic posture which, as he points out, is not found in the figure sculptures whether pre-historic or historic, of any people outside India. (Memoir of A. S. I., No. 41, p. 25.) He thinks that traditions regarding the Vratyas and Yatis would prove that yoga as a system of exercises for gaining magical powers was known among the non-Brahmans or pre-Aryan population of North-Western India in pre-historic times and he recognises in the Mohenjo Daro statuettes (A. R. of A. S. I. for 1926-27, Pl. XIX) the images of the yatis or priests of the proto-historic and pre-historic Indus Valley intended either for worship or as votive offerings (Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 33). This posture illustrated in certain Mohenjo Daro statuettes, seals and the sealings would supply, according to him, the missing link between the pre-historic and historic civilisation of India. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.)*

ITHYPHALICISM

As regards the "seemingly exposed phallus" Marshall himself explains that it is perhaps in reality the end of the waistband. (M. I. C. I., p. 52.) Describing two other figures (in Nos. 222 and 235 in Mackay's list) Mackay says that the figures appear to be wearing a very short piece of loin-cloth. It seems that what has led to the description of the waistband as exposed phallus is probably the discovery of several representations of the phallus at Mohenjo Daro and the obsession that the carved figure is a prototype of Siva. It is to be pointed out that Rudra-Siva is not an ithyphallic god. It is generally Siva in linga form and not Siva anthropomorphically represented that is worshipped. The linga of Siva which is worshipped is thus a detached phallus. The connection of Rudra-Siva with linga worship is of epic-date.† In his mediaeval images Siva is represented

* It may be observed that reporting on finds at Indo-Sasanian level at Jhukar and Mohenjo Daro sites in Sind, held to illustrate a late phase of the Indus Civilisation Mr. Majumdar notices a number of potsherds representing "the Buddha in relief seated in a preaching attitude in temple with Dharmacakra symbol on sikhara."—(Memoir of A. S. I., No. 48, Pl. XIV, 26 JK 816).

† The subject is fully discussed in the author's paper *Linga-worship in the Mahabharata*. Indian Historical Quarterly, December, 1948.

in some aspects as naked (e.g., *Bhiksatanamurti*, Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 306f, Pl. LXXXVII, Fig. 192) but it is in his form Bhairava that Siva is represented in this aspect. Siva is pre-eminently an ascetic god in the Epic and *urdhvalinga* like *urdhvaretas* is an epithet of his referring to his ascetic continence.

CONNECTION WITH ANIMALS

The animals appearing on the seal under discussion are an elephant, a tiger, a rhinoceros, a buffalo and two deer below the seat. There does not appear any reference in the early sacred literature, in the Epics or in the Puranas, to Rudra-Siva having any connection with these animals as his attendants. In the Mahabharata he is sometimes described as wearing the skin of the tiger or leopard (Mbh. Sauptika/6 ch.—“blood-stained tiger skin,” Drona/201—“wearing a leopard skin”). Elephant goad appears as an attribute of Siva in the coins of Kaniska and Huviska (J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*), but there is no reference, so far as is known, to his association with the elephant. Some type of gold and copper coins of Kaniska and some gold coins of Huviska show four-armed Siva with an antelope in his lower left hand (*ibid.*). In some of his aspects in mediaeval sculptures Siva is represented as holding a deer or a black buck in one of his hands. (E.g., *Chandrasekharamurti*, *Umasahita Chandrasekharamurti*, etc. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 129, 309, etc. Pis. LXXXVII, LXXXIX, XVII, etc. Re *Gangadharamurti* see pp. 315, 316.) It is explained in the *Suprabhedagama* that a black buck, snakes, a bull, a tiger, a lion and other things arose from the sacrificial grounds of some risis who wanted to kill Siva for having seduced their wives. (Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.) In his *Daksinamurtiaspect* Siva is sometimes represented with two deer below his seat or near his leg listening to the exposition of dharma by the god. This representation might be an imitation of the representation of the Buddha similarly shown as preaching the dharma, the same animals appearing among the audience. (Rao *ibid.*, p. 279.) Rudra is spoken of as *pasupa* in the Rgveda (I. 114. 9). In the Aitareya Brahmana (III. 33) it is stated that Rudra chose the title “pasupati” for himself after slaying Prajapati in his Boar form for incest. But among *pasus* or animals it is only with the cattle and more particularly the bull that his connection is specifically mentioned in the Vedic Literature. He appears as the slayer of cattle in the Vedic literature and the sacrifice of a bull to

him is prescribed in the Grhya Sutras for averting his displeasure. (Asvalayana Grhya Sutra IV. 8. 40). In the Epics the bull becomes his vehicle and Siva himself is sometimes an object of worship in the theriomorphic form of bull. From Epic times the bull becomes an integral part of the cult of Rudra-Siva and becomes itself an object of worship. It appears as an emblem of Siva as early as in the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings. (Banerjee, I. H. Q. Vol. I, No. 1, 1940.) As for the buffalo it does not appear in the representations of Siva under any of his aspects. Except a grotesque tale about Siva being born of a she-buffalo by Rambhasura (known as Mahisasura later destroyed by the Devi) told in one of the Upa-Puranas (Kalika Purana Ch. 60, Bangavasi ed.) no other association of Siva with the buffalo is known. The rhinoceros has no connection with Siva. It will thus appear from the above that except the two deer beneath the throne on which the three-faced deity is seated other animals represented in the carved seal as attending the god prove nothing. The representation of the two deer in the particular position they occupy brings out once more parallelism with representation of the Buddha.

It appears that some of the animals represented in cult scenes are introduced casually, probably as representatives of the animal kingdom, while others have an important place in the Buddhist legends and religious art. To the latter category belong the deer and elephant. The animals that appear in association with the three-faced deity in yogic posture are tiger, rhinoceros, buffalo, elephant and deer. It is found that many of these animals appear in sacred scenes engraved in early Buddhist sculptures. Wild elephants are represented as worshipping the Fig. of Kasyapa (Maisey, Sanchi, Pl. XXX, Fig. 3), elephants doing homage to a tree (*ibid.*, Pl. XV, Fig. 3). In Pl. XIV Fig. 1 an elephant is represented as being blessed by a human figure, probably representing the Buddha which has its right hand on the animal. Two elephants are represented as taking part in ritual, bringing offerings to a sacred stupa. (Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. LXXXVIII.) The elephant goad is a Buddhist symbol and appears with trident, wheel, lotus, swastika, etc. (*ibid.*, Pl. III). Lion, elephant, boar, horse and sheep appear in cult scene representing tree-worship. (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII). The elephant, buffalo, sheep and deer appear with human votaries in a sculpture representing the worship of a five-hooded Naga in a temple. (*Ibid.*, Pl. XCVIII). The deer frequently appears in cult scenes. In Pl. LXXI (Amravati) it appears

in a representation of the worship of relics, sacred feet and trident. Probably an one-horned ox or unicorn appears as a mount in an Amravati sculpture (Fergusson, Pl. XCVIII).

From the above we find that the animal associated with the deity in yogic posture recall Buddhist sculptures in sacred buildings, they do not help to identify the deity as the prototype of Siva.

PAIR OF HORNS

Crowning the head of the deity, according to Marshall, there is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress. Similar pair of horns appear on the heads of various figures discovered at Mohenjo Daro (M. I. C., Pl. XII, 18, 22; Pl. XIII, 17; also terracotta masks figured in Pl. XCV, 1, 2, 3). Marshall says that the pair of horns help to connect the unknown god with Siva and that the horns on the heads of the other deities have a special significance. (*Ibid.*, p. 54.) Explaining why the horns on the head of the unknown deity connects him with Siva Marshall says that the horns took in the later days the form of the *trisula* and in that guise continued to be the special attribute of Siva (*ibid.*, p. 55). The *trisula* is the special weapon of Siva only in the Puranas. In the Mahabharata he is described as *gadi*, *khattangi*, *jharjhari*, etc. (Mbh. Santi/284). In the Rgveda Rudra has bow and arrow. (Rgveda X, 125. 6) Lightning is used by him as a weapon and he uses also *vajra*. (Rgveda IV. 3. 1). The *trisula* is not the weapon of any of the Vedic gods. The *vajra* appears in the hand of Siva in some of the Kaniska coins. *Trisula* and battle-axe (*parasu*) combined or simply the battle-axe appears as Siva's emblem in the early Indo Scythian, Kulinda and other coins and in the terracotta seals of the Gupta period (Banerjee, *op. cit.*). Dr. Banerjee points out that "there is no need to assume that they 'took the form of trisula or trident in later days,' for horns as such were also associated with Siva and he refers to a passage in the Mahabharata (Vana/88 verse 8) mentioning *visanam*. But *visanam* was like Visnu's *pancajanya* conch shell meant for use as war bugle or trumpet and this association of Siva with horn used as trumpet does not help in identifying the Indus deity with a pair of horns forming a part of his head-dress with Siva. We are inclined to think that the so-called pair of horns which meet in a tall head-dress is most likely only a form of head-dress of peculiar shape, and the appearance of similar pair of horns meeting in a head-dress on terracotta masks would lend support to our view.

Dr. Mackay is doubtful that there are horns on the head of the figure on this seal (No. 420 in his list) as well as a seal No. 222. Describing the figure in No. 420 he says that it has the fan-shaped head-dress commonly associated with pottery female figurines (Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, Vol. I, p. 335).

We are of the opinion that the case for identification of the three-faced figure with the prototype of Rudra-Siva based on arguments used by Marshall cannot stand. In fact, arguments have been used at haphazard, several Vedic, Epic and Puranic traits of Rudra-Siva and features appearing in mediaeval, sectarian representations of Siva having been utilised to support his interpretation. Marshall's interpretation has also influenced others to such an extent that the striking parallelism which the three-faced as well as several one-faced figures show with the representation of the Master in the Buddhistic art has been generally overlooked.

There occur a number of other male figures on different seals, generally with arms decorated with armlets or bracelets, which have been interpreted as representations of deities. They possess no feature in common, nor have they any characteristic mark distinguishing one from the other and lastly they have not any recognisable mark of divinity except the doubtful horns which most probably are head-dresses, on some figures. The triangular terracotta prism sealing described by Vats shows on one of its face a figure in standing posture, the right arm decorated and the left indistinct. This figure has been described as a god (Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 129). The reverse of the oblong terracotta sealing also described by Vats (*ibid.*) shows a standing figure which also is interpreted as the representation of a god. Neither of these two representations has any sacred adjunct or any recognisable indication of divinity. Male figures appear in some other seals which are illustrative of tree-worship. In the obverse of the Harappa seal No. 2410 described by Vats there is a male figure wearing a short kilt and a three-pointed head-dress under an ornamental arch of boughs. He has a number of armlets. (Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 43.) The figure is that of a deity according to Vats. A terracotta prism unearthed at Mohenjo Daro has on one side a horned (?) figure with bracelets on arms standing between two trees (pipal?) and a goat with garlands, to the left another kneeling, horned(?) figure stretching out both hands. (Mackay, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 351; Vol. II, Pl. LXXXII, Nos. 1 and 3.) Both the standing and the kneeling figures are described as representations of deities. The divinity of all the figures, particularly of the

kneeling figure is doubtful. Referring to the seals nos. 13, 14, 19 (Pl. XII) and (also Pl. XII, 15 & 22) Marshall writes that "the tree appears conventionalised in the form of an arch surrounded by leaves in which the deity is framed, as if standing in a shrine". (Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 63, Note 2). If these figures associated with trees were really intended to be representations of deities it may be said that the tree spirits or deities sometimes conceived of as male (recognisable tree spirits are usually female) formed a class apart and were probably regarded as of an inferior class and below the two types of one-faced and three-faced deities in yogic posture.

FEMALE DEITIES

Sir John Marshall's big theory of the prevalence of Mother-goddess worship among the Indus people is based on his interpretation of the large number of terra cotta female figurines discovered from different sites as representations of the Great Mother or Mother-goddesses. His arguments have been fully examined in the paper *The Worship of the Great Mother in the Indus Religion* (Calcutta Review, December, 1950, January, 1951) to which the reader is referred for the arguments on which is based our finding that the several types of female figurines are toys and probably in some cases votive offerings and that they cannot be regarded as representations of the Great Mother or Mother-goddesses. If these terra cotta female figurines are left out of account female figures that have indisputable claims to be regarded as divine are found to be extremely few. We may refer to two sealings.

One is the well known Harappa sealing. It is described as follows by Marshall: "This is a remarkable oblong sealing from Harappa on which a nude female figure is depicted upside down with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb." (M.I.C. Pl. XII, 12). Marshall thinks that this is a representation of the Earth-goddess. "On the reverse are the figures of a man and a woman, the former standing with a sickle-shaped knife in his right hand, the latter seated on the ground with hands raised in an attitude of supplication. Evidently the man is preparing to kill the woman and it is reasonable to suppose that the scene is intended to portray a human sacrifice connection with the Earth-goddess depicted on the other side". (Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

It is fortunate that unlike the female figurines the Harappa sealing tells its own story and as such its testimony is of peculiar interest and of great significance. There is no doubt about the sacred

import of the representation. The female producing a plant can only mean a vegetation goddess. The representations on the obverse and reverse complement each other and together they furnish a satisfactory evidence of the existence of the cult of a vegetation goddess. The main conception in the cult is promotion of fertility and as the cult scene shows the idea of increasing the fertility of the earth or Nature through human sacrifice was fully known. Unmistakable as this evidence of the earth cult is it is bound to cause surprise that this sealing is the only one of its kind unearthed hitherto among thousand and one finds in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan. This fact may give rise to a doubt as to whether the seal is indigenous or imported.

It is obvious that the representations on the Harappa sealing are indicative of a stage of development in the cult of the earth-goddess when she is only a departmentalised goddess of vegetation and has not become the Great Nature or Mother-goddess who creates all life and is the Mother of all. The absence of any connection between this cult and the serpent should be noted. It is known that the serpent has been associated with earth cults in many lands from the very earliest times. Describing some tablets unearthed at Kish which are held to be the earliest written records regarding Sumerian deities Langdon writes, "The serpent was already regarded as a symbolic of the generative powers of the earth in this very early period. A primitive pictograph representing a serpent winding around a staff is held to represent the Earth-goddess" (Langdon, *Mythology of all Races, Semitic*, p. 94, Fig. 46). It has been said that the Harappa sealing represents the earth-goddess when she was a departmentalised goddess of vegetation. This point may be explained. The worship of earth deities was widely spread in Central Sumer and in the north from Lagash to Akshak. The earth had become the great Mother. Nippur the pre-historic seat of the earth mother became the national shrine of Sumer. But before this stage was reached there were independent earth deities who were widely worshipped. Thus Geshtun the old Sumerian earth-goddess was regarded as a goddess of vine. (Cam. Anc. Hist., Vol. I, p. 396). Ninduba was a grain goddess and was known at Umma as Ninura the queen of harvest (*ibid*). Bau-Gula was another goddess of grain (E.R.E., Vol. VII, p. 430). The earth-goddess had become in early Sumer also the special deity in charge of child birth. She was known under local names under this aspect, e.g., Ninkharsag, Ninlil, Gula, etc. (Cam. Anc. Hist., Vol. I, p. 390). An ophidian character was sometimes attributed to earth deities. Kish had a cult of earth-goddess

known as Isir. Der was the pre-historic home of Isir where she was given the name a-Di a bi-sexual ophidian deity. (*Ibid.* p. 448). The earth cult of Sumer was thus fully developed and the evidence of its existence in different phases is ample. In the Sumero-Babylonian period the different forms of the earth-goddess and mother-goddess merged into the form of the great INNINI-ISHTAR.

The other unmistakable representation of a female deity appears in a Mohenjo Daro seal (M.I.C., Vol. I, Pl. XII, 18). The goddess, a nude figure with long hair, appears between two branches of what is recognised as an asvattha tree. In front of the goddess is a figure interpreted as that of a votary in an attitude of adoration and behind is a goat with human face. Seven other votaries in short kilts and with long pig tails are shown below. This goddess was a tree-goddess. It is not clear from the cult scene what function was attributed to her. Reference will be made to the other features of this seal when tree worship is discussed. The Harappa sealing and this seal show that the presiding spirits of vegetation and tree were conceived of as female. Tree spirits were sometimes conceived of as male.

It is a noteworthy fact in connection with the Indus religion that though male and female deities were worshipped they do not appear together on any seal. It should also be noted that the number of male deities is larger than the number of female deities and they appear in more varied contexts. The functions attributed to female deities appear from the cult scenes with which they are associated; one promoted fertility and the other was the presiding spirit of the tree, which appears to be the pipal. Regarding the terra cotta female figurines it may be noted that these crude figurines never appear in cult scenes, nor in association with male deities nor with any sacred adjunct, which might verify their religious character.

TREE-WORSHIP

As Marshall has pointed out tree-worship prevailed among the Indus people in two forms, *e.g.*, (1) worship of the tree deity anthropomorphically conceived, and (2) worship of the tree in its natural form. The tree deity is conceived of both as male and female but male deities are more in evidence and they were probably more popular than female tree deities. Against one seal representing the tree deity as female unearthed at Mohenjo Daro there are several seals representing it as male discovered at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (No. 2410 described by Vats, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 43, terracotta prism described by Mackay, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 351; Vol. II, Pl. LXXXII

Nos. 1 and 2; Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII Nos. 13, 14, 19, 15; and 22). The terracotta prism shows interesting representations. On one side there is a standing figure between two trees, a garlanded goat to the left and another figure stretching out both arms. Dr. J. N. Banerjee thinks that the kneeling figure was probably that of a goddess (D.H.I., p. 191). This is improbable because the attitude is unmistakably that of a suppliant. The garlanded goat in this seal recalls the goat with human face in the seal representing nude tree tree-goddess and the kneeling figure with arms out-stretched recalls the long-haired half-kneeling worshipper in that seal.

The worship of the tree in its natural form is illustrated in several seals from Harappa (M.I.C., Vol. I, Pl. XII, 16, 20, 21, 25, 26) Marshall writes, "A point of some interest is that two at least of the trees on these sealings spring from what appears to be either an enclosing wall or railing such as encircles the roots of sacred trees in later reliefs of the historic period and were regarded as almost indispensable symbols of their sanctity" (Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 65). Dr. Banerjee compares these enclosed trees with the device 'tree within railing' on early Indian coins and thinks that these Indus seals may be regarded as distant proto-types of the *vrksa caityas* and *sthala vrksas* represented in the latter. (Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 190). The tree on some of these seals as well as the tree on some of the seals representing the tree deity in human form is recognisable as the *asvattha* or *pipal*. In an amulet (Mackay, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-355, Pl. XC 23a and b) two men are shown each carrying an uprooted tree and it is explained that they are about to transplant the tree for the abode of a spirit who is shown between the figures.

The appearance of the *pipal* on the Indus seals as an object of worship is an important link between the Indus religion and the Vedic, Buddhist and Brahmanical religions. The tree appears to have been very popular in the Indus Valley and regions farther west. The *pipal* leaf and branches frequently appear as decorative motifs on painted pottery in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan and branches and foliage sometimes appear in designs of head dresses. The same use is also made of the whole tree (Memoir of A.S.I. No 48, pp. 95-103). The whole tree is depicted in its natural form on certain seals unearthed from pre-historic sites (*ibid.*, Chanhu Daro finds Pl. XVII-44, 34). It has been pointed out in the author's paper. "A Pre-historic Tree Cult" (I.H.Q., Vol. XIX, 1943) that these representations of the whole tree in sealings should be regarded as cult objects as they could not be a decorative device nor could they have served

any material purpose ; moreover, other trees which appear as artistic motifs on painted pottery do not appear on sealings.

The importance of the appearance of the pipal as a sacred object on the Indus seals lies in the fact that the cult of the pipal has an unbroken continuity from the Indus period to the present day. The cult was popular in the Vedic religion appearing in the Rgveda and rising to greater importance in the later Vedic literature ; it was a principal object of veneration in Buddhism and Jainism, a sacred object in the Epics and it is worshipped to this day in many parts of India by the Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and tribal peoples.

The appearance of animals on certain seals illustrating tree worship probably indicates the association of animals with tree worship. In one seal (Mohenjo Daro seal representing the nude goddess) the animal associated is a goat which has a human face. Probably this is an instance of animal worship—the goat is therianthropic—forming a part of tree worship. Marshall suggests that the unicorn may have been associated in some way with the cult of the pipal tree goddess (seal No. 387, Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 70). He is of the opinion that the animals appearing on seals illustrating tree worship might have been animal *vahanas* or vehicles of the tree deities and refers to the engravings on the railings of Bharhut and Sanchi “where the *yaksis* are portrayed standing on their animal *vahanas* and clasping the tree with arms and legs, their pose indicating that they are part and parcel of the trees” (Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 64, Notes 4). It may be mentioned in this connection that almost all the principal male deities in the Rgveda are provided with animal *vahanas* while this distinction is denied to the female deities.

Thus we find again that tree worship in vogue in the Indus Valley in both its forms, more particularly the worship of the pipal, represented as enclosed in railing, presents striking similarity with Buddhist practices and art.

STUDIES IN DANIEL DEFOE

DR. SRICHANDRA SEN, M.A., PH.D., M.LITT. (CANTAB.)

I

To a careful reader of Defoe's works his habit of story-telling by no means begins with 'Robinson Crusoe'; there are indications, although on a much smaller scale, prior to this date, which prove him a story-teller; which even suggest that he might have gone further in subtlety and the sense of humour than he actually did. The story of the lady who unjustly reproaches a gentleman in an outburst of passion with many things of which he is perfectly innocent till the victim of her wrath bows out of her presence with a polite 'God b'w'y to ye madam', throwing her into a paroxysm of anger is told in such clever, courtly manner that one might well have supposed that Defoe's genius lay in the field of the normal social drama of his day¹. In the same number of the 'Review' where this appears, there is a somewhat unsavoury tale of a husband discovering his wife in a compromising position and refusing to fight with the man except on the terms he proposes. In narrating it Defoe is as direct, forthright and witty as one can be but the story regarded simply as a story can provoke only laughter and laughter of a coarse kind. To the latter class would also belong a story of two vulgar women who always fought and quarrelled and called each other foul names but in an emergency co-operated with each other in their common interest². The account of two men, Jack and Tom, who after setting out on a journey, disagree while they are in the middle of it as to their destination, Jack bullying his friend into accepting his suggestion that they should both go to York, is offered as an allegory of Britain's position in the war in not being able because of her allies to conclude a separate peace³. It may be noted that most of the stories which appear in the 'Review' are used as parables to illustrate some moral truth or some aspect of contemporary life.

Aitken has quoted the remarks of a contemporary of Defoe's which clearly show that his ability as a story-teller had been known and recognized even before the publication of 'Robinson Crusoe'; these remarks were written some five months before that date. The

¹ Review, Vol. VII, p. 450 (December 14, 1710).

² Review, Vol. VII, p. 475 (December 2, 1710).

³ Review, Vol. VII, p. 763 (June 10, 1712).

shrewd critic cleverly brings out the most important quality of his art: '... the little art he is truly master of, of forging a story, and imposing it on the world for truth'. At the same time it is well known that some true stories told by him have seemed so like fiction that he has been accused of dressing up a figment of his imagination as a fact. 'The Apparition of Mrs Veal', long held to be an example of Defoe's power 'to lie like truth', has recently been shown to be nothing but reportage. In 'The Apparition' we have an early evidence of his interest in the supernatural and the extraordinary generally, which was to play so important a part in his literary life in subsequent years.

In 'The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe', the hero who may be taken as a dramatisation of the author, after contrasting himself with his fellow traveller, a merchant, describes his own nature as that of a 'mad rambling Boy, that never cares to see a Thing twice over'.¹ In Defoe's life, the mad, rambling Boy masqueraded as a business man and went bankrupt more than once but by embalming his spirit in some of his tales, he has produced literary work of great vitality.

Professor Sutherland has suggested that not the love of riches but an incurable love of excitement provided the impulse that drove our author along through quite an extraordinary career.² Thomas Wright applies to him the epithets 'curious, prying, inquisitive'³ both the descriptions confirming in us the impression of a 'mad rambling Boy' who turned author and produced the incomparable series of tales of adventure, headed by 'Robinson Crusoe', a work, however, which is distinguished from his other stories by having as its basis a profoundly philosophical outlook.

A. W. Secord has examined four explanations for our author's advent into the field of the long narrative, *viz.*; that they grew out of the picaresque tradition, journalism, biography shading off into fiction, or moral treatises and concludes after discussing the merits of each of these theories with the following observation: 'The fourth explanation, accounting for his method as influenced by the writing of moral treatises, is most satisfactory of all'.⁴ If the earlier work could be treated as a probation for the final and the most significant phase of his authorship, everything that Defoe wrote before 'Robinson

¹ Robinson Crusoe, Vol. III, Shakespeare Head Edition, p. 111.
Sutherland—Defoe, p. 46.

Thomas Wright—Life of Daniel Defoe, p. 288.

A. W. Secord—Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe, p. 230.

Crusoe' could be said to have contributed to the art and invention of his last period. This is in substance the view taken by Aitken¹.

Defoe's debt to Lazaillo de Tormes except in his 'Street Robberies Consider'd' (1728) is not obvious. One could hardly write rogue tales without putting the moral consciousness out of court. Nowhere in Defoe, however, is the moral purpose lagging far behind although one cannot help feeling that the didactic note is sometimes a little forced. It seems that pirates and other outlaws interested him because they lived dangerous and solitary lives. Professor Sutherland has justly observed: 'Defoe wrote well about rogues and criminals because they interested him'.² He did not write improving stories: the stories occurred to him and he seemed afterwards to cast about for a proper justification to tell them. In doing this he fell back upon the moral ideas he had imbibed from Dr. Annesley and others and used them in the traditional manner.

One might not unreasonably expect that an author who wrote so many moral treatises would be interested in the lives of saints and would not readily put them aside in favour of more ephemeral things. In his 'Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain' Defoe has occasion to take notice of sacred as well as profane matters, to speak about holy men as well as about others with whom particular localities are associated. It is curious to observe that the story of the recluse John of Beverley does not get from him even a quarter of the space he willingly gives to the robbery by Nicks on Gads-hill,³ and he does not seem to have much patience with St. Winifred who gave her name to a well.⁴ Defoe tells us that he is not going to stop to discuss legends believed in by papists by way of explaining the scanty notice he bestows on the subject but the real fact seems to be that holiness as a cloistered virtue did not rouse his enthusiasm. He is interested in morality but not in sanctity.

Defoe apparently did not find the time to write sacred biography for the benefit of his readers. His inclination did not seem to lie in that direction. Nor did he understand the pathological crimes and murders behind which there might be nothing beyond boredom and a craving for sensation. He could not enter into the motives of Mohocks and felt not a little perplexed to account for the bloodthirsti-

¹ 'General Introduction to the Romances and Narratives of Defoe,' edited by George A. Aitken, Vol. I, p. 38.

² Sutherland—Defoe, p. 247.

G. D. H. Cole's Edition of the Tour, Vol. I, p. 104.

Ibid. p. 464.

ness they exhibited. "What kind of Passion", he asked himself in some bewilderment, "or what Humour it gratified to Murther or Wound an Unconcern'd Stranger, who has not given the least Affront or Occasion to the Party and who, they not only never saw before, but may never hear of again . . . what secret Pleasure these People find in it, I confess I am at a loss to find out, and cannot imagine what Infernal Rage it can be said to gratifie".¹

The impulse which led him to write the series of tales about criminals and adventurers seems to be entirely different from that which produced his moral treatises, journalism or biography. It may not be wrong to assume that the author's nature is akin to that of Colonel Jack who was 'always upon the Inquiry, asking Questions of Things done in Public as well as in Private, and about the great Sea-Fights, or Battles on Shore, that any of them had been in; and as I never forgot any Thing they told me, I could soon, that is to say, in a few Years give almost as good an Account of the *Dutch War*, and of the Fights at Sea, the Battles in *Flanders*, the taking of *Maestricht* and the like, as any of those who had been there.'² This was the manner in which Defoe often came by the facts and his tenacious memory retained them till he had an occasion to turn them to use. Defoe had evidently a lively curiosity for tales of all sorts.

Professor Secord suggests that Defoe's habit of mentioning sums of money in his narratives can be traced back to Hakluyt and Purchas.³ Admitting the influence it may still be possible to believe that the practice owes quite as much to these precedents as to his own rather boyish passion for detail, for a precise inventory of one's possessions. After the Lancashire husband leaves Moll Flanders, she reproaches him a thousand times in her thoughts but all this was over in a minute. 'I felt in my Pocket, and there I found ten Guineas, his Gold watch, and two little Rings, one a small Diamond Ring, worth only about Six Pound, and other a Plain Gold Ring'.⁴ She does not cry violently until some two hours after. The example, and there are many others, would suggest an attitude rather than a mere literary loan and the attitude may well be said to be naive, testifying to an undeveloped sense of values.

These tales of adventure seem to be the sign of a nostalgia for his boyhood or an imaginative outlet for the craving for adventure

¹ Review, Vol. VIII, p. 614 (March 15, 1712).

² Moll Flanders, Vol. I. 163, Shakespeare Head Edition.

A. W. Secord—Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe, p. 164.

⁴ Moll Flanders, Vol. I, p. 163.

which made him dramatise the parts of thieves and pirates so successfully. The motive of profit made these adventures not excusable morally but intellectually acceptable to the author who failed to find explanation for viciousness indulged in for its own sake as in the case of the Mohocks.

His debt to character writers does not seem to have been stressed by his critics but their influence upon him as well as his interest in human types, often manifesting itself as a habit of classifying human beings, appear to be fairly clear. Not only did he write characters in the traditional style but one could see in most of his stories the presence of elements borrowed from this source. In a number of the 'Review' Defoe gives the characters of a drunken husband, a debauched husband, a fighting husband and a 'fool' husband. As a specimen of his character-writing the last in the series—about a 'fool' husband—is quoted below: '... a Fool has something *always* about him that makes him intollerable; he is ever contemptible and uninterruptedly Ridiculous; it is like a handsome woman with some Deformity about her, that makes all the Rest be Rejected; *if he is kind*, it is so Apish, so below the Rate of Manhood, so surfeiting and so disagreeable, that like an ill Smell, it makes the Face Wrinkle at it; *if he be froward*, he is unsufferably insolent, that there is no bearing it; his Passions are all flashes, struck out of him like Fire from a Flint; *if it be anger*, 'tis sullen and senceless; *if Love*, 'tis Course and Brutish; *if he in Good*, wavering; *in Mischief*, obstinate; *in Society*, empty; *in Management* unthinking; *in Manners*, sordid; *in Error*, Incorrigible; and in everything Ridiculous'.

This description fully conforms to Overbury's definition of character: 'To square out a character by our English level, it is a picture (real or personal) quaintly drawn, in various colours, all of them heightened by one shadowing'.² Defoe attempts once more to present a character in the same manner in another number of the 'Review', although this time, having some contemporary in his mind, possibly himself, he does not prefix the name of the virtue he commends to his delineation. 'He must be one, that searching into the Depths of Truth, dare speak her aloud in the most dangerous Terms; that fears no Faces, courts no favours, is subject to no Interest, bigotted to no Party; that asks no Protection, is afraid of no Laws, hunts after no Preferments, solicits for no Place, and will be a Hypocrite for no

¹ Review, Vol. IV, p. 404 (October 4, 1707).

² A Book of Characters compiled and translated by Richard Aldington, p. 167 (George Routledge & Co., Ltd.).

Gain'.¹ As the description represents a type rather than an individual, it belongs to the seventeenth century tradition and provides a further proof of Defoe's interest in the subject. It is, however, more dramatic than most characters although it is at the same time marked by a simplicity of conception and a lack of completeness in its outline.

In 'The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe', we have accounts of two honest Englishmen and three 'Reprobates', and throughout the story, the epithets are repeatedly applied and by the gradual unfolding, fully illustrated. Only one of the three reprobates, William Atkins, is regularly referred to by his name but then he seems to have been suggested by some person Defoe actually knew.² The two pairs reappear afterwards in somewhat changed conditions as the 'diligent' and the 'slothful'.³ In 'Colonel Jack', Captain Jack, Major Jack, and Colonel Jack are all described and the characters imputed to them might come under such distinct categories as 'Malicious', 'Revengeful', 'Courageous' and 'Intelligent'.⁴ These portraits are somewhat more complex than those of the 17th century character-writers but the tendency to single out one attribute among many for emphasis is also a distinguishing feature in them. Moll Flanders marries a fortune-hunter and the initial description tallies with the type⁵ although it is only fair to add that he does not remain a vague personality seen through the medium of a dominant quality but grows in human stature and complexity as the story develops.

In 'The Family Instructor' Defoe has given the character of a pharisee, which may be well worth noticing in this connexion: 'The father represented here, appears knowing enough, but seems to be one of those professing Christians who, acknowledging God in their mouths yet take no effectual care to honour him with their practice; that live in a round of religion, as a thing of course; have not the power of godliness, nor much of the form, a kind of negative Christian a "God I thank thee" pharisee, sound in knowledge but negligent in conversation; orthodox in opinion, but heterodox in practice".⁶

The examples of what appears to be Defoe's indebtedness to Overbury and others may be added to but a further illustration of the point is hardly necessary. The specimens which have been pointed out

¹ Review, Vol. VII, p. 234 (Aug. 12, 1710).

² Tom Smith (Crusoe, Vol. II, p. 61) and Jack (Crusoe, Vol. II, p. 169), the names of the two 'Reprobates' do not occur more than once.

³ Robinson Crusoe, Vol. II, p. 193.

⁴ The Life of Colonel Jack, Vol. I, pp. 4-6.

⁵ Moll Flanders, Vol. I, p. 151.

⁶ The Family Instructor, Scott's edition, p. 3.

should suffice to give some idea about the way in which Defoe's treatment of characters is coloured by this particular influence.

It may be interesting to enquire why Defoe so often chooses to describe his characters by their professions, rank or some particular quality they possess rather than by their names. The author's explanation is that names are deliberately avoided¹ as they disclose identity thereby proving a source of danger or embarrassment to the person concerned. But the explanation does not cover all the cases and a careful examination of the practice is likely to yield interesting results.

Defoe does not uniformly introduce his characters by the rank they hold or the quality they possess but where he does so, they seem to fulfil a little too closely the expectation that such a description might arouse. The French Prince in 'The Fortunate Mistress' is in his taste, lavishness and indolence entirely princely, princely too in his preference of a mistress to a beautiful and virtuous wife. The repentance and reformation which follow his wife's death and are confirmed by an accident which nearly killed him, are in a different key although if we search for a reason we shall easily find it in the middle-class consciousness of the Puritan author. The Jeweller whose mistress Roxana became after she was abandoned by her husband, the brewer, also shows a similar emphasis of tendency. The manner in which he proceeded to bind himself to the brewer's abandoned wife, though creditable to him in spite of its being morally abhorrent, offers a piece of that professional jargon which in extreme cases can be as comical as the naval jargon made to do duty on all occasions in Smollett's romances.

The well-meaning and honest Jeweller drew up a contract in which he stipulated that he would live with her all his life, failing which he was to forfeit to her the sum of £7000 as penalty. The whole arrangement was completed before the Jeweller treated her as his mistress or the 'wife of his affection' as he more endearingly called her². The man showed throughout a streak of this practical business-like quality and seemed not a little pleased with it. As he himself said to her, he had been courting her by the best of courtship, *viz.*, doing acts of kindness to her³. He proves his affection by deeds done and not merely by word of mouth as he tells Roxana with pride.

¹ *Moll Flanders*, Vol. I, p. 1.

² It is interesting to examine the contract 'wherein he engag'd himself to me, to cohabit constantly with me ; to provide for me in all respects as a wife ; and repeating in the Preamble a long account of the Nature and Reasons of our living together and an obligation in the Penalty of 7000 Fortunate Mistress, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Where Defoe mentions the names of his characters, his object seems rather to generalise a quality or occasion than to individualise his creations. Mouchat in 'Colonel Jack' and Friday in 'Robinson Crusoe' underline the primitive man's essential simplicity, "uprightness, and devotion arising from a sense of gratitude and the strength of the affections generally. John Cock, a barber, whom he mentions in the 'Journal of the Plague Year' is made to illustrate the folly of a hasty return to London before the plague subsided.¹ John and Thomas whose stories are told in this 'Journal' are again examples of those who successfully attempt to get out of the reach of the dreadful infection; the names do not in the least conjure up individuals whom we can recognise; for out of all these details, not even the most shadowy personality emerges. These names may also be linked up with the allegorical convention associated with the Morality plays of the fifteenth century. As regards the debt to the seventeenth century character-writers, the point has already been discussed and some more examples may be mentioned before we conclude the subject. Defoe refers to Colonel Jack's first wife as 'a wild untam'd Colt',² the second wife as an Italian 'whore',³ the third wife simply as a 'widow'. Only the fourth wife Moggy has a name. She grows more vivid, more like a real person as though Defoe knew someone like her. Without a core of experience, his creative energy does not seem to flow freely and loses itself in the flats and shallows of a barren didacticism or a limited tradition, which in his happier moments he was able himself to transcend.

(To be continued)

¹ A Journal of the Plague Year, p. 277

² Colonel Jack, Vol. II, p. 11.

³ Ibid., p. 57.

A consideration of the question of naming characters by Defoe will perhaps lead us to the conclusion that excepting a few important people whom he made the effort to visualise, he seems to be far more interested in deeds, incidents and adventures than in persons whom he often describes perfunctorily either by some sort of name as Friday (given because he arrives on a Friday) or by an attribute ('Reprobate').

SHIFTED MEANING OF SOME ARABIC AND PERSIAN WORDS IN BENGALI

H. C. PAUL, M.A.

As Prof. Jespersen says, "A language or a word is no longer taken as something given once for all, but as a result of previous development and at the same time as the starting point for subsequent development". It is frequently spoken of as a 'living organism', and as such shifting of meaning is not a new thing in regard to foreign words, it may be found even in one's own mother tongue.

'Dis-ease' was formerly used for any kind of discomfort, but now the meaning has been much more specialized. 'Meat' was once 'food' of any kind—a sense preserved in 'sweetmeat'. 'Lay man', originally meant 'one not in holy orders,' but now the sense has been generalized to any non-professional man or outsider. 'Game' is sport of any kind but with reference to hunting the meaning had been transferred to 'the material result of the sport.'

See, how even the meaning may be degenerated. To 'counterfeit' had at first no evil suggestion. It meant simply to imitate, or copy. Hence, a counterfeit was among other things, a potrait—as in Fair Portia's Counterfeit (*i.e.*, a portrait). To copy another man's head or seal, or to imitate the coin of the realm, however, was a felony, and the word soon acquired the sinister associations which always attend it to-day. This kind of degeneration of meaning is much found in Bengali words while adopting the Persian and Arabic words in it.

In Bengali itself shifting of meaning is not rare: 'Stambhita,' originally meant 'Stambhatwa prāpta' (lit. got the state of a statue), but now it means only 'astonished', without having any connection with the word statue. Degeneration of meaning is not also rare, 'nāgar', originated from 'nagar', a city, meaning an inhabitant of the town, has degenerated to the sense of 'an unlawful lover'. In likewise, the meaning of 'pirīti', originated from 'prīti', love, affection, has also been to some extent degenerated to 'illicit connection'.

In case of foreign words it may only be said that shifting of meaning is more frequent, and often quite opposite from the original sense, for the reason that even the learned people of one's own

language do not understand the original meaning of the loan-words, while they are strengthening the stock of their own mother-tongue.

'Ājgubi' in Bengali means not-believable, or most astonishing. The word comes from *azgaib*, that is, from the Heaven, or heavenly. Here the meaning though outwardly similar, really it is quite different. Both Hindus and Muslims are believers in Heaven or heavenly things. But in this case the Heaven of the Muslims is not believable to the Hindus who generally have used the word 'jāgubi'.

'Akkā pāoyā' in Bengali means to die. This 'akkā' comes from 'waqi 'ah', an event, or accident. But if we take this 'akkā' to have come from the euphemistic 'waqi ah Shudan' meaning to die, really, there is no shifting of meaning. 'Marā', to die, is often said euphemistically as 'paralok gaman karā,' or 'ihalok tyāg karā,' etc. But we should note that this 'akkā pāoyā' is never said euphemistically, it is rather sarcastic.

'Ākkel selāmi' in Bengali means punishment for the foolishness (that is done). Here, note that the meaning of the original word is quite opposite, and this expression is also to some extent sarcastic, ākkel is from 'aql, meaning knowledge, and selāmi from Salām or salāmat, meaning peace, or safety. Curiously enough the meaning of this 'Selāmi' is much more degraded. The sentence 'ājkal bārībharā pete ha'le dālālir upar selāmi-o cāi', though originally meant now-a-days to get a rented House a sum for peaceful negotiation is also required besides the brokerage; but now 'selāmi' has become current as euphemistic word for 'utkoc' or bribe.

'Āmal' in Bengali means time, reign, or government as in Hindustani; but in Arabic it means only action, the word being 'amal'. Its noun of agent is 'āmil', meaning doer, which is connected with the Bengali word 'āmlā', a servant of the court of justice.

'Āsāmī' generally means tenant, cultivator, or debtor, but in Bengali it is specially meant for culprit or defendant. The original word is Arabic *asāmī*, plural of *asmā'*, which is again a plu. of *ism*, name.

'Bahāl' in Bengali means appointed, but originally it had the sense of '(re-instated) to the present position', the Arabic word with the Persian preposition being *ba-hāl*.

'Bajjāt, bajjāti,' assimilated forms of *bad + jāt, jāti*, are lightly used in Bengali for naughty, or naughtiness, but it had the original sense of rascal, or rascality, in which sense also they are sometimes used in Bengali. But if we take into consideration of only the first meaning of these words, here we find a sort of ascent of meaning in

contradiction to the general rule. *Bad-zad* in Arabic means a man of bad or low origin or caste. *Badmāyes* (*badmaish*) is another instance of this sort.

'*Bargī*' means the Marhattas, or the plundering soldiers of Mahārāṣṭra. And by '*bargī-rāj*' is ordinarily meant Sivāji the lord of the Marhattas. This '*bargī*' is originated from Persian *bār-gir*, plunderer.

'*Beśyā*' in Bengali means prostitute. Though outwardly it seems to be of Sanskrit origin, it really comes from *be-Siwā*, meaning (a woman who is used) without exception. This kind of independent use of only the qualifying word, for the noun is also found in Bengali words; but the use of foreign words of this nature only proves the predominance of Persian and Arabic language over our tongue at a time. *Khurā* for *khullā-tāta* (uncle, lit. younger father, I being changed to *r*, as also in *khur-tuta bhāi*, cousin-brother).

Khud (from *kshudra*, or Persian *khurd*) for *cāler khud* (little pieces of rice). In the same way *khābār* (lit. eating, or drinking) has the sense of eatables, or sweetmeats.

'*Bilāt*' in Bengali means the country of England, or any foreign land. But originally it had quite the opposite meaning, *vilāyat* in Arabic means the country, or province. Here though the word is taken from Arabic, its meaning has been influenced to some extent by its use as a Hindustani word by the British soldiers.

'*Bismillāy galad*' in Bengali means fault or error at the very start, and is often used sarcastically. *Bismillāh* (or *ba ismi Allāh*, in the name of God) is a formullah generally used by Muslims at the beginning of all actions. And '*galad*' from '*galat*' has the same meaning of error or blunder.

'*Bujrūkī*' in Bengali has the degraded sense of show of greatness, or cheating, treachery; but the original Persian word '*buzurgī*' (O.P. *bazraka*-) meaning greatness, is connected with the Sanskrit *bārdhakya* (or *bārdhak-ya*).

It is also interesting to note that the Bengali '*buddha*' has been changed to '*but*' in Arabic vocabulary, and the Indians in general are called *but-parist*, the worshipper of the idol, meaning thereby the followers of Buddha (lit. the enlightened soul) whose influence was so great at the time.

'*Cap-rāśī*' in Bengali means peon, bearer or orderly. In Hindustani it is *Caprāśī*. But originally it is formed of *Cāp*, print, + *rā's*,

head, + ī, a suffix having the sense of relation or possession, that is the bearer of the (royal) head-print.

'Cij' in Bengali, besides its original meaning of thing (from ciz) has also the shifted meaning of a shrewd man.

In legal matters 'chāni' in Bengali means appeal for the second time, its original meaning being the second, the Arabic 'Sānī'.

'Darun' in Bengali means 'for, because of', originally it is made up of 'dar', in, and īn, this meaning (because of, or) in this. But 'dārun' in Bengali means much or very, difficult, troublesome, etc. Originally it is formed of 'dār' (Skt. dāru), wood, and 'īn', a suffix having the sense of made up of', that is, wooden, from which is derived the meaning a thing which is hard as wood.

'Deyā', or 'deoyā' in Bengali means cloud, which is most probably originated from 'dew,' or 'dīv,' meaning devil, or demon. This 'dīv' is also connected with debatā (or Skt. deva), but note that the Sanskrit debātā is God, in Persian it is devil or demon, an enemy to god. Likewise, we find that the Sanskrit 'asura' means demon, but in Old Persian or Avesta 'ahura' has the sense of the great (worshipped one).

'Dambāj' in Bengali generally means 'a cheat'. But originally it was a noun of agency, being formed of 'dam,' boasting, and 'bāz', an imperative of 'bākh^htan', to play, the combined meaning of which is a boaster.

'Daptari' in Bengali generally means a book-binder, though it has also the original sense of a bearer, or orderly. Originally it means attendant of an office, or daftar.

'Ejlās' in Bengali as in Hindustani means the sitting of a court of justice, or any court. But originally it is only a verbal noun 'ijlās' from 'to cause to sit.' But 'jalsā' (or jalsa from the same root, though originally meant only a sitting, in Bengali is used specially for such kind of gathering where expert singers are gathered together.

'Fakkar' (or phakkar) in Bengali means a cheat, or a shrewd person, which seems to be originated from faqīr, a religious mendicant, though it with its derived meaning of a poor man is also used in Bengali as fakir (or phakir).

'Farsi' (or pharsi) in Bengali means a kind of Indian 'hookah,' named as farsi or farsi hukā. Here the adjective farsi only is used for both the noun and adjective combined, like khābār, khurā, etc. It is related with Arabic farsh, a bed of carpet, which word is also used in Bengali as farās (or pharās).

'Fājil' (or phājil) in Bengali has the degraded sense of talkative, excess of anything ; and 'fājlāmi' from the same source, means show of a fājil, both of which are originated from 'fāzil', an accomplished person, or the more or most learned man.

'Fesād', fyāsād (or phesād, phyāsād) in Bengali means difficulty, danger or troublesome situation, but the original Arabic fasād means mischief.

THE OUTLINES OF THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF BIHAR

S. R. BOSE, M.A., B.Sc. (LOND.)

Director of Statistics, Patna

This study is based mainly on an analysis of some summary tables which have just been published in Paper No. 1 issued by the Registrar General of India. Some months ago some provisional totals of the 1951 Census were published for Bihar; the final figures are now ready and they show that the provisional total of the population of Bihar, as published previously, was short of the actual total by 7,031 persons, *i.e.*, by 0.017 per cent. Although the error in the total provisional population for Bihar is small due to the compensatory nature of the errors in the district populations, the maximum error in the district totals ranges from a negative error of 0.33 per cent in the population of Ranchi to a positive error of 0.27 per cent in the population of Santal Pargana.

It has been decided by the Census Commissioner of India (Registrar General of India) that the information collected at the Census of 1951 bearing on the means of livelihood and economic status of individuals would be presented in three economic tables. The first table will classify all persons into eight categories of which four would relate to agricultural classes, *viz.*, (a) cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants, (b) cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants, (c) cultivating labourers and their dependants, (d) non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependants, and the remaining four categories would relate to persons (including dependants) who derive their livelihood from industries and services, *viz.*, (e) production other than cultivation (comprising primary industries, manufactures and mining), (f) commerce (including banking and insurance), (g) transport and (h) other services and miscellaneous sources (comprising public utilities, public administration, education, health, domestic service, etc). Each of these eight categories will be further broken up into three sub-classes, *viz.*, (i) self-supporting persons, (ii) non-earning dependants and (iii) earning dependants. The second economic table will give for every self-supporting person and earning dependant, belonging to each of the eight categories of occupations, his secondary means of livelihood derived from one or other of the same eight categories of occupations. The third economic table will classify the

self-supporting or economically active persons belonging to the non-agricultural occupations into three groups, *viz.*, (1) employers, (2) employees and (3) independent workers. Each of the three economic tables will give separate figures for males and females under each category, sub-class or group. The smallest tract for which occupational figures will be available will be the thana and the city. It may be noted that the scheme of occupational classification to be adopted for the 1951 Census would be somewhat different from the one followed for the 1931 Census, the last Census for which occupational tables were published. The 1931 tables did not reveal the number of non-earning dependants attached to persons following any particular occupation.

I may say at the very outset that of the three economic tables dealing with means of livelihood and economic status, I had the opportunity of examining only the first table, and even so, the information relating to the number of self-supporting persons, earning dependants and non-earning dependants was not available to me. The analysis that I have made of the information available to me is, therefore, incomplete and subject to severe limitations. Yet the figures available give a rough picture of the occupational structure of Bihar; but for a clearer and more detailed picture of the situation we have to await the publication of Census reports. Since the occupational structure in the rural area is very much different from that in the urban area, I shall begin by examining the distribution of population and sexes between the urban and rural areas. The following table shows the distribution of population between urban and rural areas and the sex ratio in the urban and rural population of Bihar in 1951 :—

District or sub-District.	Urban population as percentage of the total population.	No. of females per 100 males in the urban population.	No. of females per 100 males in the rural population.	No. of females per 100 males in the total population.
Patna...	18.1	85.5	97.1	94.9
Gaya ...	7.1	89.3	100.9	100.0
Shahabad ...	6.4	88.3	98.6	98.0
Saran ...	4.0	91.0	111.1	110.2
Champanan ...	4.2	83.0	99.2	98.5
Muzaffarpur ...	3.9	83.6	104.3	103.4
Darbhanga ...	4.2	89.1	105.1	104.4
Monghyr ...	9.4	90.0	99.5	98.5
Bhagalpur ...	8.4	83.5	97.4	96.1
Purnea ...	3.8	64.4	92.7	91.4
Santal Pargana...	4.2	89.2	98.7	98.0
Saharsa ...	Nil	Nil	94.5	94.5
Ranchi ...	6.7	84.4	99.5	98.4
Hazaribagh ...	6.9	80.3	98.8	97.4
Singhbhum ...	19.5	81.4	100.9	96.8
Palamau ...	3.8	85.3	98.2	97.7
Purulia ...	5.4	92.9	98.6	98.3
Dhanbad ...	10.1	63.2	80.3	78.4
Bihar, 1951 ...	6.7	84.4	100.08	98.9
Bihar, 1941 ...	5.4	82.9	100.46	99.4

The above table shows some progress in urbanisation since 1941 although even now only 6.7 per cent. of the population of Bihar live in urban areas. The maximum progress in urbanisation during the last decade has been shown by Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts where the percentages increased from 4.6 and 4.8 respectively in 1941 to 6.7 and 6.9 respectively in 1951. The proportion of women in the urban population shows an improvement from 82.9 females per 100 males in 1941 to 84.4 females per 100 males in 1951, although the total population of Bihar, urban and rural, continues to show a progressive reduction in the proportion of females which has been in evidence since the beginning of the present century (with a slight check in 1941). Although the total population of Bihar increased by 10.1 per cent. during the last decade, the urban population increased by 37.4 per cent. As against 37.4 per cent. increase in urban population during the last decade, the number of occupied houses in urban areas increased only by 12.3 per cent., which has increased the congestion in towns from 4.7 persons per house in 1941 to 5.7 persons per house in 1951. The figures of occupied houses at the 1951 census provide some curious facts. Thus the urban areas of three districts, viz., Gaya, Shahabad, and Manbhum show actual decrease (over 1941) in the number of occupied houses; and while the number of occupied houses in the urban areas of Purnea, Monghyr and Champaran districts shows increases of 143, 86 and 73 per cent. respectively over 1941, the figures for Shahabad, Manbhum and Gaya show decreases of 45, 25 and 3 per cent. respectively over 1941 in spite of the fact that the number of towns in these districts did not show any decrease. The fact that private building activities were practically suspended during the last war due to restrictions imposed on house building and the unavailability or high cost of building materials, cannot account for such large decreases in the number of occupied houses as are shown by the urban areas in the districts of Shahabad and Manbhum. Even the rural areas of Gaya, Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh show decreases in the number of occupied houses in 1951. In the face of an increase of 37.4 per cent. in the urban population with only 12.3 per cent. increase in the number of occupied houses, an improvement in the ratio of females in the urban population from 82.9 to 84.4 is certainly noteworthy.

Coming to the districts, we find that Singhbhum and Patna are the two most urbanised districts in Bihar, while Palamau, Purnea and Muzaffarpur are the least urbanised districts. It is remarkable that the sub-district of Saharsa with an area exceeding that of Patna

district and a population almost equal to that of Singhbhum district, has no urban population at all. Although the proportion of females in the entire urban area of Bihar is 84.4 females for every 100 males, yet it varies from only 64.4 and 77.8 in the urban areas of Purnea and Manbhum districts respectively to as high as 91.0 and 90.0 in the urban areas of Saran and Monghyr districts respectively. Again although for the entire population of Bihar, urban and rural, there is an excess of males over females, in the rural areas as a whole, there is an excess of females over males, and the excess is the most marked in the Saran district; but it is appreciable in Darbhanga, and Muzaffarpur districts also. The sex ratio of females in the rural population, as in the urban population, is the lowest in the districts of Purnea and Manbhum. The difference in the sex ratio of females between the rural and urban areas is the highest in the district of Purnea and is also high in Muzaffarpur, Saran and Singhbhum districts, the district of Monghyr showing the lowest difference.

The following table shows the percentage of the total population depending on different groups of occupations for Bihar as a whole and for the rural and urban areas separately :—

Occupations	Percentage of the Percentage of the Percentage of the total population total rural popu- total urban popu- of Bihar depend- lation depending lation depending ing on the on the occupations on the occupations occupations noted noted in column noted in column in column (1) (1) (1)		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Cultivation of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants ...	55.3	58.4	11.8
2. Cultivation of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants ...	8.2	8.7	2.0
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependants ...	21.9	22.9	7.6
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependants ...	0.6	0.55	1.5
5. Persons (including dependants) engaged in production other than cultivation ...	3.9	2.9	17.8
6. Persons (including dependants) engaged in commerce ...	3.4	2.3	19.1
7. Persons (including dependants) engaged in transport ...	0.7	0.35	5.9
8. Persons (including dependants) engaged in other services ...	5.9	3.9	34.3

The table shows that fully 86 per cent. of the total population of Bihar depend directly on cultivation for their livelihood. Of these, all but a very small minority are either cultivators of land which they own or landless labourers engaged in cultivation together with their respective families. The landless labourers are mainly employed by the cultivators who own the land they cultivate, for cultivators of leased land employ very few hired labourers. The economically passive class of absentee or resident landlords who are only rent receivers but do not actively pursue any economic activity, is, fortunately, a microscopic part of the entire population, *i.e.*, less than one per cent. The category of persons engaged in production other than cultivation, comprises mainly of those engaged in manufactures and mining although under the present classification persons engaged in plantation industries (tea, coffee, rubber, etc.), forestry and woodcutting, rearing of small animals and insects (silkworm, lac, poultry, etc.), stock raising, hunting and fishing would also appear, to be included in this category. In any case, the small percentage of persons (together with dependants) in this category shows how backward Bihar is industrially in spite of her rich natural resources, specially in the Chotanagpur division. It is no wonder that less than four per cent. of the population of Bihar depends on commerce when we remember that Bihar is an inland province and that cultivation being mainly for family subsistence and even the wages of agricultural labour being paid mainly in grain, a large part of the agricultural produce, which is the main source of national income in Bihar does not come to the market at all. Transport is also in a very backward state and accounts for less than one per cent. of the population. The last category of occupations, *viz.*, other services, is an omnibus group and no comments are possible on this item unless it is broken down into its component parts.

The last two columns of the above table show how the occupational structure of the rural area differs fundamentally from that of the urban area. Thus while in the rural area, the agricultural classes, together with their dependants, make up 90.6 per cent. of the total population and non-agricultural classes with their dependants make up 9.5 per cent.; in urban area, the proportions are 22.9 per cent. and 77.1 per cent. respectively. Landless agricultural labourers are relatively more numerous in urban than in rural areas compared to the class of owner-cultivators. Another noticeable feature of the urban area is the comparative importance of the economically passive class of rent receivers, or, in other words, of the absentee rural landlords

who tend to congregate in urban areas. Among the non-agricultural occupations, transport is relatively more important in urban than in rural areas; while services are largely concentrated in urban areas. Transport is the only one of the eight categories of occupations in which the number engaged in urban areas together with their dependants, exceeds the number so engaged in rural areas, as the following table shows:—

Occupations	Percentage of the total population following each category of occupation living in :	
	Rural areas	Urban areas
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants ...	98.6	1.4
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants ...	98.4	1.6
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependants ...	97.7	2.3
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependants ...	83.6	16.4
5. Persons (including dependants) engaged in production other than cultivation ...	70.0	30.0
6. Persons (including dependants) engaged in commerce ...	62.4	37.6
7. Persons (including dependants) engaged in transport ...	45.7	54.3
8. Persons (including dependants) engaged in other services ...	61.0	39.0

An interesting study is provided by the sex composition of persons depending on different classes of occupations for which the following table has been drawn up:—

Occupations	Females as percentage of males depending on each category of occupations in the whole of Bihar.	Females as percentage of males depending on each category of occupation in urban areas alone.
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants.	100.2	94.5
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants.	99.8	97.9
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependants.	104.8	105.9
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependants.	104.3	102.1
5. Persons (including dependants) engaged in production other than cultivation.	83.1	83.2
6. Persons (including dependants) engaged in commerce.	90.1	87.4
7. Persons (including dependants) engaged in transport.	75.6	73.4
8. Persons (including dependants) engaged in other services.	84.7	76.7
All occupations	98.9	84.4

The important thing to notice here is the conspicuous excess of females over males along the landless agricultural labourers and their families and among the passive class of landlords and rent receivers. Only in two districts, *viz.*, Purnea and Manbhum, males exceed females among landless agricultural labourers. The proportion of females among landless labourers is particularly high in the Saran (122), Hazaribagh (109), Darbhanga (108), Muzaffarpur (107), and Singhbhum (106) districts. In the case of non-cultivating owners, all districts show excess of females over males except Champaran, Darbhanga and Saharsa and it is curious to note that in Purnea and Manbhum districts where there is no excess of females among landless labourers, non-cultivating owners show an excess of females. Perhaps the explanation is to be found partly in the fact that a portion of the male members of these families migrate to other places inside or outside Bihar and take up non-agricultural occupations. It is also worth noticing that even in urban areas where the over-all sex ratio is 84.4 females for 100 males, those depending on these two occupations show an excess of females over males. Not only this, but curiously enough, the ratio of females to males, among landless agricultural labourers is actually higher in the urban than in the rural area. This phenomenon is also manifest to some extent among those depending on production other than cultivation. The lowest proportion of females is to be found among those depending on the transport industry, every district showing less females than males, the lowest ratio of females being found in the Darbhanga district where the proportion of males to females among those depending on the transport industry is 100:67. In "other services" too every district shows a deficit of females, the highest deficit being shown by Purnea and Saharsa where the ratio of males to females is 100:54.

The facing table shows the percentage of the population of each district (and sub-district) engaged in each of the eight groups of occupations.

Although agricultural classes constitute 86 per cent. of the total population of Bihar, the percentage varies from 74.1 in Patna, 74.8 in Singhbhum and 77.0 in Manbhum to 91.1 in Palamau, 91.8 in Santal Pargana and 93.8 in Champaran. Among the agricultural classes, owner-cultivators (including dependants) are by far the most numerous; they form less than 40 per cent. of the population only in two districts, *viz.*, Purnea and Darbhanga; between 40 and 50 per cent. in Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Patna, Muzaffarpur and Champaran districts; and 50 to 60 per cent. in Shahabad and Gaya districts

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF EACH DISTRICT (AND SUB-DISTRICT) AMONG DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENTS

Agricultural Classes					Non-agricultural Classes					
District	Owner culti- vators with dependants.	Cultivators of unowned land with dependants.	Landless agri- cultural labourers with dependants.	Non-cultivating owners with dependants.	Total	Production other than cultivation.	Commerce	Transport	Other Services.	Total
Bihar ...	55.2	8.2	21.9	0.6	86.0	3.9	3.4	0.7	5.9	14.0
Patna ...	44.8	6.2	22.1	1.0	74.1	4.8	7.1	1.5	13.0	25.9
Gaya ...	55.3	4.8	22.3	0.7	83.2	3.3	4.7	0.9	8.0	16.8
Shahabad ...	51.1	9.4	21.7	1.0	83.2	3.7	5.0	0.8	7.2	16.8
Saran ...	71.8	5.0	13.5	0.3	90.7	2.3	2.8	0.4	3.8	9.3
Champan ...	48.7	11.2	33.4	0.5	93.8	1.3	2.2	0.3	2.4	6.2
Muzaffarpur ...	48.4	7.6	34.0	0.4	90.5	1.5	2.6	0.2	5.1	9.5
Darbhanga ...	38.7	10.2	33.8	0.4	89.1	2.1	2.7	0.5	5.7	10.9
Monghyr ...	42.2	12.4	27.4	0.6	82.5	3.7	4.5	1.0	8.3	17.5
Bhagalpur ...	38.1	16.9	25.0	1.0	87.0	4.7	4.5	0.9	8.9	13.0
					(including Saharsa)					(including Saharsa)
Purnea ...	39.6	21.1	26.5	1.3	88.5	3.2	3.2	0.8	4.3	11.5
Santal Pargana ...	81.2	3.3	6.9	0.4	91.8	2.0	2.3	0.6	3.4	8.2
Saharsa ...	43.3	20.1	29.7	0.4	—	1.1	2.6	0.1	2.7	—
Ranchi ...	84.8	1.7	2.6	0.4	89.6	3.1	2.1	0.4	4.8	10.4
Hazaribagh ...	75.5	1.8	7.6	0.3	85.2	6.7	2.1	0.6	5.4	14.8
Singbhum ...	62.7	2.1	9.5	0.4	74.3	15.3	3.0	1.2	5.7	25.2
Palamau ...	66.9	4.8	19.1	0.1	91.1	2.7	2.1	0.4	3.7	8.9
Purulia ...	77.7	3.3	8.9	0.6	—	2.6	1.9	1.0	3.9	23.0
Dhanbad ...	42.8	1.6	3.2	0.6	77.0	33.2	5.2	3.7	9.7	—

while for the whole of the Chotanagpur division, Santal Pargana and, curiously enough, Saran, they form between 60 and 85 per cent. of the total population. The lowest proportion is in Purnea district (39.6) and the highest in Ranchi district (84.8). Thus the two natural divisions of Bihar, one comprising the Chotanagpur division and Santal Pargana, with owner-cultivators forming 74 per cent. of the population, and the other comprising the rest of Bihar, with only 48 per cent. of owner-cultivators, show distinct features. Only Saran with about 72 per cent. of owner-cultivators appears to be in an exceptional position.

The highest percentage of cultivators (with dependants) of unowned lands is found in the districts of Purnea, Bhagalpur and Monghyr and the lowest percentage in Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Singhbhum districts. The Chotanagpur division and Santal Pargana, which have a large percentage of owner-cultivators, naturally show a low percentage of cultivators of unowned land.

As regards landless agricultural labourers, the highest percentages are to be found in the districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Champaran and the lowest percentages in Ranchi, Santal Pargana and Manbhum districts. For the Chotanagpur Division and Santal Pargana, the percentages are less than ten except for the Palamau district, where it is as high as 19; and for the rest of Bihar, the percentage ranges between twenty and thirty except for the districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Champaran where the range is between thirty and forty. Saran, however, with a percentage of only 13.5 appears to be more akin to the Chotanagpur region in this respect as Palamau, although situated in the Chotanagpur region, is more akin to the non-Chotanagpur region.

No comments appear to be necessary regarding the class of non-cultivating owners, who form along with dependants, not more than one per cent. of the population except in the Purnea district where they form a slightly higher percentage.

As regards the non-agricultural classes, the highest concentration is to be found in the districts of Patna, Singhbhum and Manbhum where they form about one-fourth of the total population; in Monghyr, Gaya and Shahabad they constitute between 16 to 18 per cent. of the population, and in Champaran, Santal Pargana and Palamau they constitute only 6 to 9 per cent. of the population. Among the non-agricultural classes, those engaged in production (mining, manufactures, etc.), together with their dependants, form between 12 to 15 per cent. of the total population only in the two districts of Singhbhum

and Manbhum, with Hazaribagh following a long way behind with about 7 per cent. The least industrially developed regions are Champaran and Muzaffarpur, with less than two per cent. of the population engaged (with dependants) in non-agricultural production. Although Patna district claims the largest percentage of non-agricultural population, she is poor in her industrial employment. Patna, however, claims the largest percentage of persons engaged, with their dependants, in commerce. But even so, the percentage is as low as seven, although it is more than twice as high as the provincial average. Manbhum, Patna, Singhbhum and Monghyr are the only districts which have as much as one to two per cent. of the population depending on transport. As regards other services, the district of Patna containing the metropolitan city, easily claims the lead with 13 per cent. of her population depending on this source of livelihood.

Unless the break-down figures for each of the four non-agricultural categories of occupations are available, no informed comments can be made on them. But as regards agricultural classes, a little further analysis may be made. In the table below are shown the pressure of agricultural population on the net sown area in each district, the combined yield per acre of the five important food crops (paddy, wheat, barley, maize and gram) in each district, the yield per acre per person of the agricultural classes in each district and the production per head of the population in each district.

District	No. of persons directly connected with agriculture per acre of the net area sown during the period 1943-47 to 1948-49.	Combined yield in maunds per acre of paddy, wheat, barley, maize and gram on the average of five years 1945-46 to 1949-50.	Combined yield in mds. per acre per person (of the agricultural classes) of paddy, wheat, barley, maize and gram.	Production in mds. of paddy, wheat, barley, maize and gram per head of the total population of the district.
1	2	3	4	5
Patna	1.73	9.5	5.6	3.6
Gaya	1.33	8.2	6.3	4.5
Shahabad	1.30	8.3	6.4	5.8
Saran	2.35	7.9	3.3	3.2
Champaran	1.67	9.1	5.4	5.0
Muzaffarpur	4.16	9.0	4.1	3.7
Darbhanga	2.15	9.0	4.1	3.5
Bhagalpur	1.59	7.8	4.9	3.8
Monghyr	1.39	6.7	4.8	3.0
Purnea	1.40	10.7	7.6	6.4
Santal Pargana	1.18	12.6	10.5	7.8
Ranchi	0.89	11.5	12.8	7.2
Palamau	1.32	8.0	6.2	4.4
Hazaribagh	1.44	13.0	9.8	5.4
Manbhum	1.70	18.6	10.9	7.6
Singhbhum	1.58	14.2	8.9	6.2
Bihar	1.55	9.9	6.2	4.9

It will appear from the above table that although the pressure of agricultural population on cultivated land is to the tune of 1.55 persons

per acre for Bihar as a whole, it varies from only 0.89 persons per acre in the Ranchi district to as high as 2.35 persons per acre in the Saran district. The districts with the heaviest population pressure on cultivated land are Saran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, while the districts with the least pressure are Ranchi and Santal Pargana. It is also clear that the yield per acre is not high in the districts with the heaviest population pressure, although in some districts, such as Manbhum, high yield per acre, is not found inconsistent with fairly heavy population pressure. On the whole, the Chotanagpur region (excluding Palamau) together with Santal Pargana and Purnea districts shows the highest yield per acre and the population pressure in this tract is 1.29 persons per acre against 1.69 persons per acre in the rest of the province. The yield per person per acre is the highest in the districts of the Chotanagpur division and in the Purnea and Santal Pargana districts of the Bhagalpur division. Although the yield of crops in a particular region is influenced by a number of factors, yet it would seem that the law of diminishing returns is in evidence in the tracts with high population pressure. The provincial production of the important foodgrains (making no allowance for seeds, etc.) gives only 4.9 maunds per head of the total agricultural and non-agricultural population of Bihar, and ranges from the low figure of 3 maunds per head in the Monghyr district to the high figure of 7.8 maunds per head in the district of Santal Pargana. The districts with high average availability per head are Santal Pargana, Manbhum, Ranchi, Purnea and Singhbhum which are also the important procurement areas for the supply of rationed foodgrains in Bihar. Since the average yield per acre in Bihar is 9.9 maunds, the supply per head of the population (not allowing for seeds, etc.) is 4.9 maunds, and 1.55 persons, per acre are directly dependant on agriculture, roughly speaking, we may say that in Bihar one acre of cultivated land yields the food of two persons; but since one and a half persons are quartered upon the land, an acre of sown area leaves a surplus of food for only half a person belonging to the non-agricultural classes or for the small non-food growing portion of the agricultural classes (for, the five foodgrains we have considered occupy seventy per cent. of the gross area sown in Bihar). Again, since our agricultural production largely functions outside the money economy, only about one fourth of the outturn of our foodgrains is the maximum that comes to the market for sale and is brought within the pale of money economy.

INTO THE NURSERIES OF HEAVEN

DR. S. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., PH.D.

(I)

"Pass by where wait, young Poet-wayfarer,
Your cousined clusters, emulous to share
With you the roseal lightnings burning 'mid their hair ;
Pass the crystalline sea, the lampads seven :—
Look for me in the nurseries of Heaven."

(To My Godchild).

Those who have followed the life-history of Francis Thompson and have gone through the exposition of his mysticism carefully, will not disagree as to the highest place of Francis Thompson among the English mystic poets. There may be critics, however, who will not agree with me about Francis Thompson's place as the first among the English mystic poets. It does not matter whether they do so or not, because '*magna est veritas et prævalebunt*'—'truth is great and will prevail'. Some critics have allowed fifty to two hundred years' time for the better understanding of Thompson's poems. I may allow even five hundred years till the general level of the mind of the common people comes up to the desired mark. To give further proof of the superiority of Thompson's mysticism over his brother-poets a comparative study of all of them will be necessary in the light of their mystic attainments and expressions. This, in itself, is a huge task and will require a separate volume altogether. As the aim of my thesis is to show the nature and wealth of Francis Thompson's Mysticism rather than a comparative study of all the mystic poets of English Literature. I shall show the distinguishing marks of Francis Thompson's Mysticism as against those of other English mystic poets in the briefest possible manner.

A more or less complete list of the English mystic poets consists of John Donne, George Herbert, Richard Crashaw, Henry Vaughan, Thomas Traherne, William Blake, William Wordsworth, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, Christina Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Gerard Manley Hopkins, Coventry Patmore, Francis Thompson, William Butler Yeats, George William Russell, and Thomas Stearns Eliot. When assessing the correct position of Francis Thompson among these poets, as far as mysticism is concerned, we have to compare both their personal lives as well as their

poetical works. True mysticism can be expected only from one who has led a true mystic's life. If we find the life of a poet not reflecting the mystical ideas of his poems, we are naturally at a loss to understand the verity of his thoughts expressed in the poems. In that case there is certainly a drawback in the realization of the poet of his ideals. A question may be asked, "is it necessary for a poet to actually experience or live upto the highest points contained in his poems?" I should say, 'Yes'. Because, if there is no sanction of the personal experience of a poet in the background of his verses, specially in the case of mystical poetry, then they lose half of their value and appear to be only parrotry. "The lawyer can work up his case ; but the poet, writing a poem, cannot work up a case ; he must draw on a deeply digested experience. The inspiration, when it comes, may come suddenly, and be soon over ; but it is not to be depreciated because momentary and fleeting. This moment is only the crisis in a long process ; behind it is presumably an incubation, and behind that an earlier preparation. Early experiences, emotionally coloured, are sources of later poetical moments, repeating the emotion ; and 'feeling comes in aid of feeling'. The great poet must be one who has had a full and fortunate life,—and particularly a rich and favourable emotional development in childhood and youth."³⁰⁹

I do not think that, after what has been shown of the childhood and youth of Francis Thompson, it would require to be mentioned that he lived the very life of his poems. There is no other English mystic poet who did the same except Thomas Chatterton, who died an untimely death failing to transcend the sufferings of life unlike Francis Thompson. We can thus assign to Thompson the highest place among the English mystic poets on the practical side of mysticism as the outcome of the studies gone through in the present Thesis. Coming to the assessment of the theoretical side or the production of mystical poems by Francis Thompson it will help us greatly if we consider how Miss Spurgeon in her book 'Mysticism in English Literature' has classified the English mystic poets. Recently a publication printed in 1950 came to my notice. It is entitled 'The English Mystics' by Gerald Bullett. After Miss Spurgeon's book, *i.e.*, after nearly thirty-seven years, this is the only book in which some attempt has been made to discuss the mysticism of English poets together with other English mystics. But, I must point out that the work falls far below the standard that it ought to have achieved as the result of so much material available on the subject at present. The author has followed

³⁰⁹ The Poetic Mind by F. C. Prescott, p. 100.

the beaten track without having courage or power to give his independent views. For example, there is no discussion about Francis Thompson's *Mysticism* which ought to have occupied a considerable portion of such a book. The author passes over him quietly.

Bullett, is however, fully aware of his own weakness as he writes in the preface of his book, "This book is offered not as a contribution to the scholarship of the subject, but as a means of first approach to it. . ." The present-day serious readers and thinkers are, on the contrary, in need of scholarship in this branch of studies rather than elementary discussion much of which is prevalent. I have, therefore, based my comparative study of the English mystic poets on the book by Miss Spurgeon as that is still the better of the two from the point of view of literary side. According to the division of the English mystic poets into different categories by Miss Spurgeon, Shelley, Rossetti, Browning, Coventry Patmore, and Keats (whom I would not like to be called a mystic) come under the heading of 'Love and Beauty Mystics'; Henry Vaughan, Wordsworth, Richard Jefferies under 'nature Mystics'; Donne Traherne, Emily Brönte, Tennyson under 'Philosophical Mystics'; Crashaw, Herbert, Blake and Francis Thompson (excluding some minor poets) under 'Devotional and Religious Mystics'. This division of the English mystic poets into patterns by Miss Spurgeon is almost correct except that Blake ought not to have been put under the 'Religious' group. It is difficult to bring him in under any common heading with others as we shall see hereafter. He stands by himself and it may be found at times difficult to accept him as a mystic at all. He may be at best called 'the poet of abnormal visions' in the language of para-Psychology.

From the above-mentioned classification it will be quite clear that those who come under the 'Religious Mystics' are definitely in a superior grade of the mystics according to the definition of true mysticism that I have been emphasizing throughout this study. Because according to the correct aspect of mysticism the highest mystic is he who is concerned only with the direct mystic experience or God realization. And this comes surely within the circle of religion. Anyone having merely the experience of Love, Beauty, Nature, or Metaphysical aspect of the creation cannot be regarded as the greatest mystic, if we strictly adhere to the right definition of mysticism. Except the full consciousness of the communion with God, all other mystic consciousness is of the lower order. A modern writer, Sri Nalinikanta Gupta has truly said, "I would like to make a distinction

between mystic poetry and spiritual poetry. To equate mysticism and spirituality is not always happy or even correct It is not merely by addressing the beloved as your goddess that you can attain this mysticism; the Elizabethan did that in merry abundance, ad nauseam. A finer temper, a more delicate touch, a more subtle sensitiveness and a kind of artistic wizardry are necessary to tune the body into a rhythm of the spirit. The other line of mysticism is common enough, *viz.*, to express the spirit in terms and rhythms of the flesh. Tagore did that liberally. . . ."³¹⁰ Judging from Sri Gupta's criterion Francis Thompson's poems come under 'spiritual poetry', whereas those of others under 'mystic poetry'. Also another writer says, "Mysticism, in the traditional view, is a way of praying, and the 'mystical experience' is the intuition of God as present . . . There is a mystical element of poetry, though the poet, as such, is not a mystic, in the traditional sense. In that sense he is, as Bremond calls him, a 'mystique manque'. The true poet, however, has always the mystical outlook."³¹¹ We thus see that the mere presence of mystical outlook does not make a poet mystic. He must have the direct communion with God to be a true mystic.

So, if it is shown that Francis Thompson supersedes Crashaw, Herbert, and Blake in the realization and expression of God-experience his place will be foremost as an English mystic poet. Other mystic poets, then, will be found to be on a lower level by virtue of their attachment to the secondary aspects of mysticism. I shall, however, make a hurried comparison of the mystical ideas and achievements of the most conspicuous of the above-mentioned mystic poets of English Literature though I could have omitted the discussion of the other poets except that of the last-named three, on account of the failure of other poets in the primary aspect of mysticism and thus automatically forfeiting their claim to be called true mystics. A comparison of Francis Thompson with Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobinda also has been included as the present writer happens to belong to the country of these poets and is immensely interested in their mysticism having had some direct experience from his visit to Sri Aurobindo at Pondicherry.

The remarks, quotations and criticisms that have been given in the comparison of the different mystic poets have been selected not to disparage or depreciate them purposely (because some of them have

³¹⁰ Mystic Poetry by Nalinikanta Gupta in Sri Aurobinda Mandir Annual No. 6 15th August, 1947, pp. 54-56.

³¹¹ Mysticism and Poetry—on a Basis of Experience, by A. A. Brockington, p. 208.

been very great poets in their own fields) but in such a way as to bring out the subtle difference between the true mysticism of Francis Thompson and the quasi-mysticism of other poets. The multiple shades of mystic and pseudo-mystic consciousness are so fine and elusive that unless one is extremely wary, the shadow will be mistaken for the reality, the sunlight for the sun, and God's manifestation for God.

Before actually analysing the mystic approach of the different English mystic poets it will be better if we discuss the various aspects of mysticism in poetry. A modern writer has very lucidly explained the subject in the following manner: "As a means to the better understanding of mysticism in poetry, it is permissible to dwell on three aspects—'Nature mysticism', 'Humanity mysticism', 'Church mysticism'—always remembering, however, that the supreme mysticism is that which gives direct illumination to man of the nature and being of God. . . . Four-fifths of the mysticism in poetry of the last two hundred years is nature-mysticism. . . . There seems to be in the poets of nature-mysticism an inherent tendency towards self-centredness. They are not completely taken out of themselves, because they cannot forget themselves. Their failure to reach, through the contemplation of nature, to the highest peaks of mysticism is inevitable; for creaturely things can never permanently lift the creature Man out of his creatureliness; only the Divine can do that. There is, therefore, an incompleteness about nature-mysticism caused partly by its vagueness, and partly by its dependence on the fluctuating authority of human insight. It is a revelation which is mainly a self-revelation . . . Humanity-mysticism, the sense of one-ness with all fellow-men . . . has inspired some of the greatest poems. Walt Whitman's poetry exhibits it in notable form. Many people, however, feel that it is a perverted form, in that it is carried too far, to the exclusion of higher things. They would agree that Aldous Huxley is justified in his penetrating ruthlessness when he refers to 'the sublimated sexual mysticism of Whitman'. There is much in modern literature to prove or exemplify how necessary is the outspokenness of this criticism . . . Church-mysticism, the one-ing of the soul with its Mother is no mere perversion of something higher—the one-ing of the soul with its Father The accusation that the Church becomes substituted for God as the alpha and omega of a man's religion is sometimes true . . . But, to turn to the witness of poetry in mysticism, it is an accusation which cannot be brought against the two poets (Francis Thompson and Coventry Patmore) whom we are to consider as heralds in this

aspect of mysticism . . . One was as inspired mystic, the other, a mystical devotee." ³¹²

From the foregoing quotation it is evident that while evaluating mystical poetry we should examine whether the poems contain nature-mysticism, humanity-mysticism, or Church-mysticism which has also been called by some as Sacramental mysticism. As a matter of fact, one Indian writer has found six main types of mysticism namely, (1) The Mysticism of Grace, (2) The Mysticism of Love, (3) Pantheistic Mysticism, (4) Nature Mysticism, (5) Sacramental Mysticism, and (6) Theosophical Mysticism. Out of these about Nature Mysticism he says, "To the Nature mystic, the manifold nature around him is as a mirror in which is reflected the Face of Divinity . . . The nature mystic is therefore a reformer—not a mere iconoclast, but a fashioner anew, who longs for the new forms because his intuition has seen them. He is more a man who proclaims the ideal, than himself the hewer of wood and drawer of water who actually brings about the changes. Nature mystics may indeed lack executive ability, and a knowledge of ways and means; they can talk more inspiringly about what must be, than on how it must be brought about." ³¹³ And about Sacramental Mysticism he writes, "This is the doctrine of the 'Real Presence'. It means that, in some unfathomable yet intensely real way, Divinity as a person comes directly into touch with His worshipper who is on the lowest plane of existence. While some forms of mysticism derive their vitality from the ascent of the human soul up to God, this sacramental type gains its life because the Spirit of God descends to man. A vague belief that 'God is with us', or that 'We are one with God', does not make sacramental mysticism. This mysticism means nothing less than that God in the fulness of His reality, as a Fact and not as a symbol, comes to the worshipper . . . To one who studies and understands and lives it, this type of mysticism is not second to any other type." ³¹⁴

A very fine study of the comparison between nature mysticism and Spiritual or Sacramental mysticism has been made by an international scholar in the following manner: "Nature mysticism gives us the vision of the cosmic person through the powers and the forces of nature; spiritual mysticism is the vision of the cosmic person active in us and holding moral and spiritual fellowship with mankind. The former gives the idea of God in relation to nature,

³¹² Mysticism Old and New, by A. W. Hopkinson, 1946., pp. 87-95.

³¹³ 'The Nature of Mysticism' by C. Jinaraadasa, pp. 52-53.

³¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 55-56, 66.

the latter gives the idea of God in relation to soul. There is a distinction between the intuition of a cosmic person and the intuition of Atman. The cosmic person and Atman are not the same kind of reality, and their experiences are not identical. The former is an elevated feeling and inspiration, the latter, intuition. Feeling and intuition differ. Feeling of sentience is a kind of psychism, a finer working and stimulation of our mental being; intuition implies no psychism, it really transcends it. It is illumination without any stir of the inner dynamism. It is unique and unanalysable and no experience can compare to it, for it is an immediacy-peculiar to itself in the sense of a non-relational experience. The immediacy of feeling is the immediacy below relations, the immediacy of intuition is the immediacy transcending relations. The former presents a unity, the latter an identity. The former idealizes life and its relations, the latter denies and transcends them. The former gives a fine feeling and exaltation, the latter calm."³¹⁵ I hope that this differentiation of the two types of mysticism—one nature and the other Spiritual mysticism—will help us greatly in the comparative study of the English mystic poets to which we are now proceeding.

WORDSWORTH AND BLAKE

In the only book which is worth mentioning in connection with the study of mysticism in English Literature we find Miss Spurgeon writing: "The true mystic then, in the full sense of the term, is one who knows there is unity under diversity at the centre of all existence . . . Among English writers and poets the only two who fulfil this strict definition of a mystic are Wordsworth and Blake."³¹⁶ I agree with the second part of her statement with some reservations, but not with the first one. Because, if we have been following the correct definition of mysticism as explained by me in the previous chapters, we cannot accept one "who knows there is unity under diversity at the centre of all existence" to be a true mystic. Such kind of theoretical or perceptive knowledge is or can be possessed by many. That will make one a true mystic in the full sense of the term. On the other hand, as more than once mentioned by me, a true mystic is one who has the direct realization of God or communion with Him. In such a person there will be the knowing of unity under diversity, no doubt, but something

³¹⁵ 'Hindu Mysticism' by Mahendranath Sircar, pp. 116-117.

³¹⁶ 'Mysticism in English Literature' by C.F.E. Spurgeon, pp. 9-11.

more namely, the personal touch with God, whereas in the case of one only knowing unity under diversity that element will be absent.

Just now in the preceding quotation we read that cosmic person (or unity under diversity) and Atman (or God) are not the same kind of reality and their experiences are not identical. It is possible for one to reach and remain one step below the personal touch of God and be satisfied with the unity under diversity. This has been done by all other English mystic poets except Francis Thompson. And as the critics have overlooked this subtle difference between mystic and mystic, they have committed the mistake of attributing a higher place to other English mystic poets than that of Francis Thompson. The distinction between different types of mysticism in poetry has been shown by me in this chapter and it has also been pointed out that 'Sacramental mysticism' is second to none. To understand the most subtle difference between different types of mysticism and the highest one *i.e.* the spiritual mysticism, we must go to that wonderful expounder of 'Hindu Mysticism' who writes : " Mystical experiences are of different orders. Some are experiences of the finer appearances, some of reality. The former are forms of psychism, the latter is knowledge. We shall use the words 'vision' and 'intuition' to connote the difference. Intuitions may spring from the different chords of our complex being, and they carry with them different forms of experiences, *all are equally impressive, but not equally true. Their value and truth cannot be the same. Some are true because they appear, some are true because they endure.* To avoid confusion, a distinction has to be drawn between intuitions giving the final illuminations and intuitions yielding the secrets of the finer realms of appearances. *Vision proceeds from the fine and causal mental being when it is highly strung up. Inspiration, psychism, etc. . . . are included under visions ; it would be wrong to call them intuitions. They are forms of psychism, and cannot touch reality. They are indications of a fine mentality which can work in the different layers of psychic being, but they are not indications of spirituality or wisdom . . . Intuitions proceeds from our spiritual being and has no connection with our mental being, lower or higher.* It is not to be confounded with the psychic revelations, however fine and high. *Even visions which proceed from the cosmic dynamism cannot strictly be called intuition ; for they are indicative of the exercise of Maya in its causal aspect. Intuition is the final term, which is self-consciousness and not other consciousness Intuition is confined to the final knowledge of the Absolute ; it is that stage*

of knowledge when the division of subject and object does not obtain, and is therefore unique and immediate. *The immediacy of vision is either the sense-immediacy or the psychic immediacy, it is not the immediacy of the Absolute or transcendent intuition . . .* Hence vision, revelation, and intuition are not truth in the identical sense. Vision and revelation are truth of the mental and super-mental dynamism, intuition is truth in the absolute sense. The one is empirical, the other transcendental. The empirical here connotes that which is received in sensuous, vital or mental and super-mental planes of relative existence. These may imply supra-mental sublimities, immanental immensities; but they are not to be confounded with the transcendent intuition, which is beyond all experience, however fine and sublime . . . *Concrete intuition acquaints the soul with a synthetic vision of realities . . . The vision it gives is the vision of the whole, the delight it yields is the delight of harmony . . . It is to be distinguished from psychism . . . Psychism wakes up the fine powers; it endows us with distant visions . . . Concrete intuition has the rare privilege of setting up visions and ideas in the order of a whole . . . It has no access into the depth of the inexpressible. Transcendent intuition is superior to concrete intuition; it claims access into the inexpressible. It claims to touch and penetrate the calm.*" ³¹⁷

I cannot say how many will be able to follow in the real sense the essence of the foregoing quotation and specially the lines underlined by me, without being gifted with the rare gift of transcendent intuition. Because, it is only transcendent intuition which can grasp transcendent intuition. It is not the intuition of Bergson described by him as "a direction of movement: and, although capable of infinite development, is simplicity itself." Nor it is true, as Miss Spurgeon says, that "the attainment of the consciousness that this individual self forms part of a larger Whole, may prove to be yet another step forward in the evolution of the human spirit," because "transcendent intuition is self-consciousness and not other consciousness." It is only the 'resting of the soul in the soul' or the 'state of pure consciousness,' that will be helpful in the evolution of the human spirit. It is also only through transcendent intuition that one enjoys the communion with God or the highest stage of true mysticism. Really blessed is the soul that is endowed with it.

³¹⁷ 'Hindu Mysticism' by Mahendranath Sircar, pp. 27-30.

Bearing in mind the nature of the highest mysticism and its different shades as given in the foregoing quotation when we turn our attention to the mystical approach of Wordsworth and Blake, we find that the former was the victim of 'fine mentality' and the latter of 'psychism or vision.' Both these poets were thus on the level of concrete intuition and not transcendent intuition. In the words of Miss Spurgeon, "It was not the beauty of Nature which brought him (Wordsworth) joy and peace, but the life in Nature. He himself had caught a vision of that life...he believed that all we see round us is alive." We therefore see that Wordsworth's mysticism is not concerned with 'self-consciousness' but, 'other-consciousness' namely, that of Nature. It thus comes under concrete intuition and not transcendent intuition (giving us 'Nature Mysticism' to use another term). Hence Miss Spurgeon had to say, "the poetry is not great: it does not awaken the 'transcendent feeling.' I have already referred to Wordsworth's tragic incident in France and remarked that much of his introspective and speculative character is due to it. Gerald Bullett, however, in his recent book 'The English Mystics' writes, "The theory that Wordsworth's creativeness was frustrated... by a (conscious or subconscious) regret...for his eventual abandonment of Annette Vallon, the young Frenchwoman is almost an oversimplification of truth, if not complete distortion. This kind of thing has happened to other young men without disastrously affecting the whole course of their lives." ³¹⁸

I cannot accept his opinion to be correct as a student of Psycho-analysis. To any reader of modern Psycho-analysis and its cases it will be quite clear that the same incident affects different minds in different manners. The more neurotic or sensitive a mind is, the more it will be affected by unpleasant love or sexual matters of life. And there is not the slightest doubt that Wordsworth was a very sensitive person. So, but for the unhappy episode of his youth, he, perhaps, would have been able to rise to the level of transcendent intuition. Great importance has been attached by critics to his two well-known poems ('Tintern Abbey' and 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality') and some parts of the 'Prelude' in connection with his mysticism. For example, Gerald Bullett writes, "In 'Tintern Abbey' and in the 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality,' which with the Prelude (or parts of it) put Wordsworth among greatest poets of all time, the two objects of his insight, which we may label (very

³¹⁸ 'The English Mystics' by Gerard Bullett, pp. 190-191.

roughly) the Spirit in Nature and the Spirit of man, are seen to be one, fused in his vision." ³¹⁹ But, after all, *Wordsworth felt only 'the life of things' and not the 'life of God'* and it is futile to take for granted the view, as put forward by Bullett, that "he (Wordsworth) would have agreed, I think, had he been forced into theological argument, that God is self-manifested in the universe but not contained (enclosed) in it." Because if he actually believed in it, he as a great poet, would have certainly declared it in the manner of Thompson. It was not because Thompson was 'forced into theological argument' that he sang heavenly songs. If we accept Croce to be correct, then the experienced and expression ought to be identical. Turning our attention to Francis Thompson we find that in the words of John Thomson: "An intimate associate of Thompson on the 'Academy' staff depicts him thus—'I think the secret of his strength was this: that he had cast up his accounts with God and man,...He was humbly, daringly, irrevocably satisfied of his soul.... The world and human life were, to Thompson, 'crammed with Heaven and aflame with God.' Thus *while Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning speak of their spiritual experiences in a more or less uncertain way, the spiritual experiences of Thompson are as real as the physical...*" ³²⁰ Also in the words of the Very Rev. Fr. McNabb, "You will remember Wordsworth's lines on Contemplation. But they pale beside the supreme mysticism of his younger brother poet (i.e., Thompson)." ³²¹

In the Commentary on 'The Mistress of Vision' by the Rev. John O'Connor we read that "Thompson is a mystical poet whose own soul is the supreme interest and the measure of all things to him." So it is found that Francis Thompson worked with transcendent intuition rather than concrete intuition. Some new light has been thrown on Wordsworth by a modern writer in his recent book (1948) thus: "Nature is a mystery 'vouchsafing no explanation? That man should live in any simple harmony with Nature is an illusory hope...we have already illustrated from Wordsworth's own history how difficult it is to achieve this harmony. All 'the mighty sum of things for ever speaking' cannot speak all that man needs to hear. Another poet, Francis Thompson who, like Wordsworth, was long time benighted heart and mind'—found this difficulty of reading nature, insuperable.

³¹⁹ Ibid, p. 202.

³²⁰ 'Francis Thompson—Poet and Mystic' by John Thomson, pp. 69, 89-90.

³²¹ 'Francis Thompson and other Essays' by V. Rev. Fr. Vincent McNabb, p. 15.

In vain my tears were wet on Heaven's grey cheek. Wordsworth was never able to give an example of a man whom Nature had brought into harmony with herself by her own unaided speech ... Not all of those who read his inspired lyrics know that in later years Nature's priest had found it necessary to admit Duty as well as Nature as a teacher of morality, and few knew that 'The Excursion' contained an impeccable statement of orthodox Christianity... "His poetic impulses were denied their full fruition by an intellectually conceived purpose, and the poet's distrust of the intellect kept his philosophy of Nature vague and confusing... In as far as he found, rather than made, his philosophy of Nature, by 'fetching (his) goodness from times past,' and in as far as in so doing he reflected the society of his time, it meant that society was living on the spiritual capital of the past. It was not satisfactory even in his own day. To day, when the crisis of civilization has become so much more acute, it has become of the greatest importance and urgency that we do not try to live on 'Nature,' but seek again 'the prime and vital principle' of all life." ³²² Perhaps, anticipating twenty-two years back that the above-mentioned criticism of Wordsworth would be out John A. Hutton wrote in 1926 most beautifully. "He (Francis Thompson) begins where Wordsworth ends, where even Robert Browning frequently ends. Wordsworth, in 'Lines Written Above Tintern Abbey,' comes upon a Presence which disturbs us with joy of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime, of something far more deeply interfused." And there he comes to rest—in wonder, perhaps you might say, in faith. Thompson having arrived there, proceeds; reckoning indeed that if there be even so much as a Presence, a something, then we must have the courage of our feelings, the faith born of our tragic human necessity, and with a leap in the light make the great hazard and reach the great peace of the Christian Faith—that that Presence is none other than God, and He the very God from whom Christ came, or whom Christ returned, with whom Christ is for evermore. Wordsworth comes to rest in wonder: Thompson in adoration and confession." ³²³

I do not propose to make a thorough study of Blake here as that is neither possible nor advisable in the present context. Of all the English mystic poets, I find the criticism and evaluation of Blake's

³²² 'Wordsworth's View of Nature And Its Ethical Consequences' by Norman Lacey, pp. 8, 126.

³²³ 'Guidance From Francis Thompson in Matters of Faith' by John A. Hutton, pp. 111-113.

mysticism presenting greatest difficulties, because he was a mystic poet in one sense and a psychological case in another sense. No life of a saint or genuine mystic has ever presented such a complexity of nature and divergent elements as are found in the life and poems of William Blake. The life-story and works of men who have walked with God in the real sense involve no paradox. They all have accepted the truth inherent in tradition and age-old realization though in different forms. No conflict of ideas or opposite elements have been found in their ultimate realization which has been given to the world in the simplest and most convincing manner. Even lesser mystic poets have been able to give a better picture of their minds to the readers. But Blake has singularly failed in doing so. His mind is a vast mêlée of impressions and counter-impressions, ideas and counter-ideas, visions and counter-visions as the result of which I have liked to call him a 'victim of psychism.' In his private life too he was a mixture of so many things—an artist, an engraver and a poet.

According to a modern book on English Literature: "He made his 'world' out of the Bible, Shakespeare, Swedenborg and other mystics, newspaper reports of the Revolution and the American War, popular songs, Westminster Abbey, London streets and cries."³²⁴ And so we read as late as in 1948: "William Blake, whose system of thought appears to include so many contrasting elements that the task of grasping it as a coherent whole seems well-nigh impossible... His critics are of little help in this respect, for few of them agree among themselves, and a collection of their estimates of his beliefs is bewildesting in the extreme.... To one, he might without great impropriety be numbered among those long extinct sectaries the Marcionites; to another he was a 'heretic of the heresy of Swedenborg.'" In the opinion of some, he was was a Gnostic; others return a verdict of pantheism... some critics affirm that he was after all a Christian, whose Christianity was 'orthodox in its main outlines'."³²⁵ In my opinion the confusion about Blake is more confounded when we come across things about him of the following types, viz, "He (Blake) writes to Hayley (Oct. 23, 1804) after a recurrence of vision which had lapsed for some years. 'Dear Sir, excuse my enthusiasm or rather madness, for I am really *drunk with intellectual vision* whenever I take a pencil or graver into my hand.' In speaking of the prophetic book 'Milton,' he says—"I have

³²⁴ 'English Language and Literature' Odhams Press Ltd., London, p. 118.

³²⁵ 'The Theology of William Blake,' by J. G. Davies, pp. 1-2.

written this poem *from immediate dictation*, twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time, without pre-meditation *and even against my will.* ... In the 'Everlasting Gospel,' Blake emphasizes, with more than his usual amount of paradox, the inherent divinity of man, God speaking to Christ as the highest type of humanity, says.

'If Thou Humblest Thyself, Thou humblest Me,
Thou also dwell'st in Eternity.'

In Blake's view the qualities most surely needed by men are not restraint and discipline, obedience or a sense of duty, but love and understanding . . . Blake has visions, though clouded and imperfect, of the clashing of systems, the birth and death of universes, . . . that God is the origin of Good and Evil alike, that God, and the devil, in short, are but two sides of the same force. . . .³²⁶ Or, " . . . he consorted with the spirits of the great of all times and with the angels ; and he was summoned periodically into God's presence. . . ."³²⁷

Several points in the foregoing quotations are to be noted. Firstly it is true, as Mr. Davies says, that the existing confusion about Blake would seem to be due partly to Blake's own obscurity and the difficulty of interpreting his symbolism and particularly to the fact that his critics have been neither children nor theologians but English scholars with their own sphere of appreciation, outside of which they enter a realm comparatively unknown. But it is to be noted here that the obscurity of Francis Thompson appears to be most trifle in comparison with the obscurity of Blake. Secondly, Blake's reference to 'intellectual and spiritual visions', 'Unconscious writing at the dictation of another even against his own will', 'conversation with the angels and demons, etc.' all appear to be beyond the realm of ordinary science and philosophy. These can be somewhat understood only by referring to the different branches of psychology known as psycho-analysis, parapsychology, etc. But there is hardly a critic who is well-versed in literature as well as in these modern branches of psychology. A complete study of Blake will not be made till such a man undertakes the work. Thirdly, the contention of Blake is that restraint, etc., are not necessary for a mystic.

But while discussing the poems and the life of Thompson we have seen that renunciation and control are indispensable in the beginning of a mystic's path. Fourthly, we find that Blake's

³²⁶ 'Mysticism in English Literature' by C.F.E. Spurgeon, pp. 129 et seq.

³²⁷ 'Men Who have walked with God' Sheldon Cheney, p. 369.

realization of God teaches him not to humble himself to God as that would humble God, because man and God are one (cf. 'If Thou Humblest Thyself, . . '). This attitude of Blake is hard to reconcile with. Because throughout the mystic literature as well as in Francis Thompson's poems we find that surrender to God is the only way of God-realization. Even the followers of the Jnana Path (or the Path of Vedanta) in India never think that by accepting our heritage in God we lower down the status of God. They believe in the truth 'I am He' (सोऽहम्) but they also admit that God is bigger than man. As already stated the failure of Blake's falling in with the accepted true mystics and tradition will be best understood when a comprehensive study of his visions, etc. has been made. In this connection it has correctly been mentioned by one of the modern writers on Blake that "Blake's visions are a most important factor in evaluating his mysticism, for the majority of the great contemplatives disparage and discourage them. 'Fly from them', advises St. John of the Cross, 'without seeking to know whether their origin be good or evil', and Mme. Guyon warns us that it is 'of great importance to prevent souls from relying upon visions and ecstasies, because this retards them almost all their life.' Blake, on the other hand, deliberately cultivated them, being sent 'a-screaming' by his first at the age of four, and in his advanced years calmly sketching their portraits into the early hours of the morning, in the company of John Varley, the water-colourist.

Because of this attitude of Blake, several critics are of the opinion that as a mystic he cannot be rated highly".³²⁸ For all these very reasons I think that the mind of Blake worked in the level of psychism, that is, concrete intuition and not transcendent intuition. Because he was ruled by visions and "Vision proceeds from the fine and causal mental being when it is highly strung up. Inspiration . . . etc. are included under visions, it would be wrong to call them intuitions. They are forms of psychism and cannot touch reality . . ." (*op. cit.*). So even after reading the most well-known mystic lines of Blake, such as:

"To see a world in a grain of sand,
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Held Infinity in the palm of your hand,
And eternity in an hour. . ."

(*Auguries of Innocence*)

³²⁸ 'The Theology of William Blake,' by J. G. Davies., p. 77.

Or,

"God Appears and God is Light
To those poor souls who dwell in Night,
But does a Human Form display
To those who dwell in realms of Day."

(*Ibid.*)

Or,

"Now I a fourfold vision see,
And a fourfold vision is given to me ;
'Tis fourfold in my supreme delight."

(*To Butts*, 22 Nov. 1802, 83-85.)

Or,

"I give you the end of a golden string
Only wind it into a ball,
It will lead you in at Heaven's gate
Built in Jerusalem's wall."

I do neither get any kind of final knowledge of the Absolute; nor can trace the mystical experience of the poet himself. At best they may serve as a few formulas and examples of symbolism. The poet does not appear to have known that the transcendent intuition gives the knowledge God that is neither Light nor Form but pure Consciousness. But the lines of Thompson touch the very root of this Consciousness. When I read several times the lines of Thompson such as,

"But with unhurrying chase,
And unperturbed pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy
They beat—and a Voice beat
More instant than the Feet—
'All things betray thee, who betrayest Me.'"

(*The Hound of Heaven*).

Or,

"When to thee new eyes of thee
All things by immortal power,
Near or far,
Hiddenly
To each other linked are,

"O seek no more.

Pass the gates of Luthany, tread the region

Elenore."

(*The Mistress of Vision*)

I feel within my breast unmistakably the truth contained in them and agree with the critic who says, "Here, at least, Thompson more than touches Blake in reverential tenderness; more than touches Wordsworth in mystic adoration; more than touches Patmore in sweet allegiance to the child."³²⁹ Moreover, I am convinced that the poet actually heard the voice of God and passed the gates of Luthany. Such is the force of his realization and expression. I, therefore, cannot support the view of the critic who writes, "... A saint William Blake was, though a saint with a difference, a saint curiously enamoured of the Devil. ... Blake's unique importance in the history of prophecy and mysticism is that he expressed with more beauty than any other, in poetry. ... this message of the Spirit, in terms essentially Christian yet universal."³³⁰ I cannot also find much value in the words of Bullett when he says, "He (Blake) accepted the life of the body as frankly as Whitman was to do in a later century, and had nothing but hatred and contempt for the pallid negative pietism of religious moralists. ... Blake is the most thoroughgoing of all English mystics. ... It is true that he was capable of saying foolish as well as wise things. ... it is true, in short, that he could be wilful, erratic and perverse."³³¹ Firstly, because a saint has never been (however curiously) nor can ever be enamoured of the Devil. Secondly, because we have seen the value of Whitman's mysticism in the words of Aldous Huxley. Thirdly, because a true mystic cannot be both foolish and wise or normal and perverse in the same life. He possesses a perfectly integrated personality and is not the 'patient of multiple personality' playing Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hide. Fourthly, a true mystic is never an enemy of religious moralists though his ideas of morality may be of higher type than the usual ones, because he finds some utility even in the dogmas of the moralists. And finally, because I find more force and reason as well as support from my own personal experiences (mystic it may be called if one likes) in the following quotations:—"Blake's mysticism is self-

³²⁹ 'Francis Thompson,' by A. A. Cock in 'The Dublin Review,' Vol. CXLIX, Quarterly Nos. 298, 299; July and October, 1911, p. 273.

³³⁰ 'Men Who have walked with God,' (1946) by Sheldon Cheney, pp. 309, 377.

³³¹ 'The English Mystics,' by Gerald Bullett, pp. 163-65.

evident, and it has been accepted by the majority of *his critics* as the key to his personality and beliefs; yet they also concur in the judgment that he was one who never gained the heights of mystical experience, that *his mysticism was potential and never realized.*" ³³² One can also read that "*His (Blake's) essential aim is not personal union with Reality, God or the Infinite, but the construction of a universe. The function of a visionary rather than a mystic.*" ³³³ Potential mysticism is present in every heart. It is only the realisation of this truth practically that distinguishes one from the other. In Francis Thompson his mysticism was not potential but dynamic and hence should be regarded as more fruitful as well as valuable. The defect of Blake's mysticism will be somewhat more clear if we remember the fact that "A Christian mystic is directly aware that God, with whom he enters into personal communion, is not limited to personal being, that he is both personal and super-personal. He knows perfectly well that *the unity of the personal and the super-personal is given to him and not subjectively constructed by him.* For himself he needs no proof of this truth beyond his own mystical experience." ³³⁴ In conclusion we, therefore, can say, "Blake stands by himself in a lonely place rapt in visions of his own which fall within no recognized mystical category." ³³⁵

In a concluding portion of the study of Blake by a modern writer we read, "If mysticism means primarily a contemplative quietism, mysticism is something abhorrent to Blake, a selfhood-communion in Ulro; if it means primarily a spiritual illumination expressing itself in a practical and (in spite of its psychological subtlety) unspeculative piety, such as we find in the militant monasticism of the Counter-Reformation, the word still does not fit him. But if mysticism means primarily the vision of the prodigious and unthinkable metamorphosis of the human mind just described, then Blake is one of the mystics." ³³⁶ I think we have obtained, as the result of all previous discussions, a clear-cut idea of what mysticism really is or should mean. In the light of such an idea it will not be difficult to deny that "mysticism means primarily the vision of the prodigious and unthinkable metamorphosis of the human mind." For this very

³³² 'The Theology of William Blake,' by J. G. Davies, p. 78.

³³³ 'Mystic Utterance in Certain English Poets,' by Violet I. Kemp in 'The Hibbert Journal,' Vol. XXVI, October, 1927-July, 1928, p. 482.

³³⁴ 'Mystical Intuition,' by N. G. Lossky, p. 192.

³³⁵ 'The Mystical Element in English Poetry,' by A. H. Thompson in 'Essays and Studies,' Vol. VIII, p. 100.

³³⁶ 'Fearful Symmetry—A Study of William Blake' (1947) by Northrop Frye, p. 432.

reason Evelyn Underhill remarked about Blake: "So individual in his case was this vision, so strange the elements from which his symbolic constructions were built up, that he failed in the attempt to convey it to other men."³³⁷ But we have been convinced that it was not the case with Francis Thompson who in a masterly style described all his mystical experience and realizations. How can, then, the superiority of Thompson to Blake be refuted?

(To be concluded)

³³⁷ 'Mysticism' by Evelyn Underhill, p. 473.

Round the World

Egypt Again

Egypt has come prominently into lime light again, this time by the action of the army. Since Nahash Pasha was shoved out of power by the former King early this year, changes of Ministry have been more frequent in Egypt than even in France. At last towards the close of the last month the army under General Neguib Pasha made a coup d'etat and seized power. Public opinion in Egypt was ripe for such a coup and from the reports coming from Egypt it appears that the action the army has taken has the full approbation of the people. Government in that country was only partly under the control of the Prime Minister and his colleagues. In all crucial matters it was the Palace Cabinet which ruled. King Farouk came to the throne very early in life. Before he could earn experience of men and things, he had to assume the burden of Kingship. It was not unusual in such circumstances that he would think too highly of himself, his office, and his powers. Towards the Wafd which was in office at the time of his accession and particularly towards its leader, Nahash Pasha, who was then Prime Minister, he came to cherish a peculiar hatred. Their name was anathema to him. This was because in that formative age it was dinned into his ears by favourites and Palace intriguers that the rule of the Wafd headed by Nahash would undermine his authority as King. So whenever he could he kept them at arm's length. It may also be presumed that this antagonism towards the Wafd was encouraged and even stimulated by British agents in Egypt. It is, of course, true that in their hour of need the Britishers had practically to use force against Farouk in order that Nahash and his Wafd might be installed in office. That was in 1942 when the war situation was dark and without active cooperation of the Wafd it would be impossible for the British to keep off aggression of the Axis. But this apart, the British agents have hated the Wafd as much as Farouk hated it and it will not be surprising if the latter's attitude towards Nahash Pasha and his Party was influenced largely by the British.

This common animosity of Farouk and the British towards the Wafd naturally became a matter of suspicion to the Egyptian people. The more they became convinced that Farouk was unwilling to tolerate the Wafd, the more their nationalist mind revolted against their King. During the last six months, their confidence in him reached the nadir. General Neguib and the army had themselves many scores to settle. In the higher rungs of the military organisation corruption was rampant and the younger officers were chafing under the tyranny of this corrupt

gang. But they could make no head-way against this entrenched corruption and jobbery. Even the debacle suffered in the War against Palestine made no change in the situation. This was because of the support which the corrupt group had enlisted in the Palace. General Neguib in whom the younger reformists in the army repose full confidence was on that account not in the good books of the King. When there was a suggestion of his being appointed War Minister, the proposal was turned down by him without ceremony. So he and his friends in the army laid their heads together, hatched the plot of a coup and carried that out in the nick of time. The public already inflamed against the King for reasons stated above did not raise its little finger on behalf of Farouk. On the contrary it has given enthusiastic support to General Neguib, the author of the coup.

It is difficult to say at this moment what the permanent effect of this military coup d'état will be on the future administration of the country both in its internal and external aspects. It, however, appears that Egypt remains a monarchy. The infant son of Farouk has been proclaimed King of Egypt and Sudan. On his behalf a Council of Regents will perform the functions of the King. This means that there will be no violent departure from traditions in the field of the system of government. The royal dynasty of Egypt was founded by Mahomed Ali Pasha in the last century. He was really the Turkish Sultan's Viceroy in Egypt. But a masterful man, he chafed under the control exercised over him from Constantinople. So he practically cut away from the moorings and launched himself on an independent career. But still theoretically the ruler was only a Khedive and not King. It was only after the first World War that the title of King was assumed by the Egyptian ruler.

As for internal administration, both the new Prime Minister and his appointer, General Neguib, are bent upon maintaining law and order as strictly as possible. Both are conscious that certain outside powers, particularly Britain, are spoiling for intervention. They might not take calmly either the abdication of a King who was really their friend or the purification of the administration and the army which will make Egypt strong and its people self-confident. They would only want to fish in troubled waters. But it is the policy of General Neguib and the Prime Minister he has nominated not to allow Egyptian waters to be troubled. They are determined to keep them calm and placid. As regards external affairs they have not shown their hand yet except in this that they have proclaimed the infant son of Farouk as King of Egypt and Sudan. In other words they have declared their unwillingness to whittle down the claims of their country to the sovereignty over Sudan. In respect of implementing the Egyptian decision to make a new treaty with Britain on the basis of the withdrawal of British soldiers from the Canal zone and the British recognition of Egyptian claim to Sudan, the

new Government has not yet announced any plan of action. It is expected that only after stabilising the internal situation it will proceed to tackle the problems of external policy.

In the middle East successively in two countries this military coup d'etat has been witnessed during the last few years. It was in Syria that the army took action twice and Egypt has now followed suit. In both countries the army has acted in sheer disgust. Exasperated by corruption, inefficiency and dishonesty in men who matter, the army acted to set things right. But the remedy stands the risk of being worse than the disease. The army is and should be only an instrument of civil power. It is to work under its direction and authority. It is not for the army to change or modify it. But when civil authority is guided not by patriotism but only by lust of power, when it strays from the path of honesty and rectitude and all hope for reforming it is blasted, temptation for the army to strike becomes too great. So everything should be done to create circumstances in which there may not be any such temptation. It should also be noted that the military coups become successful only when the civil rulers lose their prestige altogether. So nothing should be done by which they may incur this loss of prestige with the people. It need not be emphasised that the seizure of power by the army is only a sign of anarchy.

Democratic Nominee for American Presidential Election

Sometime after the Republican Convention meeting at Chicago had decided upon Eisenhower as the Party candidate for Presidential election to be held early in November, the Democratic Party Convention met at the same place and nominated Governor Stevenson of Illinois for the same purpose. This gentleman was not very much in the picture even a short while before the meeting of the Convention. In fact he had declared his unwillingness to contest the Presidency. He was enthusiastic only for re-election as Governor of his State. But he had at the same time pointed out that if he was drafted by his Party for the higher honour, he would not resist.

It is never possible from outside a country to appreciate fully the stature of a candidate. People in the country alone are not only in full possession of facts on which they may base their estimate but what is more they alone have an opportunity of feeling the weight of personality of a man which from a distance it becomes difficult to gauge. Harriman has been long an important figure in American foreign affairs. He was a trusted agent of the late President Roosevelt. He in fact knows foreign affairs at first hand as intimately as a future President should know in these days. From a distance of ten thousand miles it also seemed that he was otherwise a very eligible candidate. Further it appeared in news once or twice that there was the possibility of Truman's

choice falling upon him. But even before the Convention met it was practically certain that he would not be chosen the Party candidate for election in November. It was given out that he was not very much known to the voters and on that account it would be unwise to select him as the Party's nominee. Governor Stevenson's name now came uppermost in the mind of a large section. It was thought that he had the requisite personality and popularity to attract support. Truman also threw in his weight in his favour. It is, of course, not easy to say whether he did it because he regarded Stevenson's nomination as the best under the present circumstances or because he wanted only to strengthen the majority which was already in his favour.

The nomination of Stevenson has now set at rest all speculation as to Truman's own future. In the last issue of this journal we had pointed out that though he had refused twice to have his name considered by the Convention, still he might accept the candidature if the Convention insisted upon it. The Convention did not do anything of the kind. It took him at his word, which, it thought, represented a genuine desire on his part to retire. Now the question arises as to what chances the Democratic candidate will have in the present year of winning the election. There are two formidable difficulties in the way of success. The first difficulty is that the Party has been continuously in power for twenty years and many people may desire a change. The second difficulty is to be found in the personality of the Republican candidate. In addition to these two there are also several minor factors to be reckoned with. There is for instance the question of full civil rights for Negroes to which the Party is practically committed. It is true that the delegates from the South have all the same promised support to Stevenson. But it is not known as to whether they were speaking with tongues in their cheek.

As against these obstacles there are counterbalancing advantages. The first and foremost is the Democratic record during their long period of power. The slump which overtook the country during the regime of Hoover and whose devastating progress he could do nothing to stop was met squarely and boldly by Roosevelt. Its back was quickly broken and its devastation stopped. The war of 1941-45 was fought and won. Post-war problems also have been tackled with as much ability and far-sightedness as one might expect in a government. The opposition may pick holes here and there but the general people will look upon the policy followed and actions taken as on the whole good and effective. The internal administration has continued to be efficient and general prosperity of the country has been uniformly maintained. Why should then the people grudge another lease of power to the Democratic Party? There is again the attitude of organised labour to be taken into consideration. During the previous elections it gave its support to this party. There is no reason why it should withdraw it now. It is true that Taft who was regarded

as an enemy of organised labour has not been accepted as the candidate of the Republican Party. But in this regard Eisenhower also is at best a dark horse. People do not know as to what attitude he would take up on the subject. In view of this uncertainty the leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organisations may decide to support the people they know.

Australian Immigration

A writer in the June issue of *The Fortnightly* discusses Post-War Australian immigration. He tells us that since the conclusion of the War Australia has received as immigrants as many as six hundred thousand people from Europe, fifty per cent of them being British migrants. It is the desire of the Australian Government and people to have a still larger number of Britishers but as population has to be increased any how people from other parts of Europe are also welcome. "The present policy of the Commonwealth Government is to bring out about 150,000 migrants in each of the next five years and it is hoped that 63,000 will be British." Some forty thousand Dutch settlers have already arrived and it is hoped that a much larger number will come with the improvement of accommodation. An agreement with Italy has also been made.

Ex-Servicemen from the United Kingdom with their families have largely travelled free to Australia and even those migrants who do not emigrate as fully paying passengers are required in most cases to pay only a part, i.e., £10 for an adult over nineteen years, £5 for a child from 14 to 18 and no payment is required for a child under 14. Many of the migrants are being accommodated in hostels where accommodation appears to observant people to be better than in a 'first class' hotel. Besides, for promoting assimilation of the migrants as Australian citizens, a movement called the Good Neighbour Movement has been set on foot. So far, as many as seventy-five councils of this movement have been established. The purpose of these councils is to offer assistance and provide good neighbourliness to the immigrants. It is their objective to see that the new-comers do not feel lonely and helpless in strange and unfamiliar environments. They protect them from the machinations of unscrupulous men and bring succour to them in times of misfortune. We are told how a man who had recently arrived with his wife died leaving to her a house which was heavily mortgaged. The Good Neighbour Council came immediately to the rescue of the helpless woman. It raised £1000 by which the mortgage was paid off. There is another case of a migrant purchasing a small timber house. £100 was paid at once for the purpose and it was agreed that the balance would be paid off by £6 a week. The seller was, however, an unscrupulous person. The house was soon condemned by the Health authorities. In this instance also the Good Neighbour Council came to his rescue. A team of eight

men was sent during a week-end and it pulled down the house and built another on the site.

The immigration policy pursued by the Government of Australia is part and parcel of its White Australia policy. The continent must be a preserve of whitemen. Lest any accusing finger should be raised against the Commonwealth Government that it was keeping the vast territory of the continent practically empty rather than admit to it emigrants from overpopulated Asian countries, it is making haste in bringing shiploads of people from Europe on alluring terms. It is expected that in the course of the next five years there will be a considerable addition to the present population figure. Meanwhile people from Asian countries (the so-called coloured peoples) are being as rigidly shut out as before. Wilkie's one world amounts thus to the reservation for whitemen of more than three out of the five continents which make up that world. This is world unity indeed!

Attlee-Bevan Controversy

Attlee-Bevan controversy has reached now an acute stage. So long confined to party platforms, it has now been carried to the floor of the House of Commons as well. There are different ways of looking at it. Superficial observers may regard it only as a struggle for leadership, Attlee doing his best to maintain his position and Bevan trying his utmost to oust him from leadership and assuming it himself. But it may not be as sordid as that. The fact is that all the objectives the Labour Movement had in view during the previous fifty years had been fulfilled by the 1945 Labour Government. It was in that year that for the first time Labour came to power in Britain. In 1924 and 1929 it was allowed to form the Government but it was not sufficiently independent to formulate and carry out its own policy. This chance was vouchsafed to it only after the election of 1945. For half a century the Labour Movement had promised the miners a fair deal through public ownership of the mines. It promised the masses different kinds of social security, namely security against the ravages of sickness and unemployment and security against infirmities of old age and helplessness of infancy. It had again promised them that everything would be done to do away with the 19th century legacy of slumdom, squalor and overcrowding. It is to the credit of the Labour Government that it carried through "a volume of legislation unparalleled in the history of Parliament." But the fulfilment of the old programme to a considerable extent has created a vacuum in respect of Party policy. The Party leaders are at present thinking out a new programme and new lines of action. The mind of the Party is in consequence in ferment and in that condition it is but natural that there will not only be disagreements among leaders but that these disagreements will come out into the open.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi. By Krishnadas. Abridged and edited by Richard B. Gregg. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

In the critical and eventful months from August 1921 to March 1922, Sri. Krishnadas was with Mahatmaji and helped him in various ways, firstly, by contributing articles to "Navajivan", then as its editor and, lastly, as his trusted and devoted Secretary. Sri Krishnadas was a pupil of the late Sri Satishchandra Mukherjee of Dawn Society and it was at his suggestion that he made up his mind to serve Mahatmaji at a time when political India was passing into a new phase.

The original book was published in two volumes and the editor Mr. Gregg has abridged it so as to present a faithful and arresting picture of the great personality standing at the back of the important facts ultimately responsible for bringing about independence.

The generation which has not had the privilege to see Mahatmaji personally will find in this book a sincere and truthful account of his inner and private life showing how this great leader was moved more by spiritual considerations than by any other motive and how in everything he did, he was motivated by thoroughly sincere convictions. It will thus be able to learn his modes of thought, his plans of action and his message.

J. N. Mitra

Gandhi and Marx. By K. G. Mashruwala, with introduction by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Re. 1-8-0.

Some articles in Hindi and English contributed by S. J. Mashruwala to the "Harijan" are here collected and published in book form. The Vernacular portions have been translated by the writer and may, therefore, be expected to convey his ideas faithfully.

The book is timely. The whole world has practically been divided into two groups with two distinct ideologies—communism and democratic capitalism. In essence, they may appear to be similar, but in attainment they differ and hence, have arisen two schools of thought in the world, one in Moscow and the other in western countries pledged to democracy.

In the meantime, India has gained independence and the principles of Mahatmaji which were at one time regarded as mere theories have drawn the attention of the world, not only because they brought freedom to millions of Indians through a bloodless struggle, a unique event in the events of the world, but also because independent India under Pandit

Nehru, has so far been able to save the world from the catastrophe of a third World war, which seemed almost unavoidable in 1950. These two facts,—Mahatmaji's non-violent technique and Panditji's masterly foreign policy have led the thinking portion of the people of the world to concentrate their attention on India so that today they are trying their best to understand the principles underlying Indian politics.

A tendency to identify Gandhism socialism has appeared and some communists honestly feel that Pandit Nehru and the whole host of upholders of Gandhian principles hold a belief which differs from theirs only in respect of the emphasis laid on measures to ameliorate the living conditions of the masses. Similarly, capitalists with a progressive outlook by inventing the term 'Welfare State' and socialising many state institutions, thinking that they are allying themselves with Gandhism thinking probably that the time would come when India cannot but be their ally.

Sj. Mashruwala disappoints all these people and clearly states that Gandhism is faith of the soul and as such it differs very materially from both Marxism and democratic capitalism. Gandhism does not deny the right of possession nor does it declare war against any class. Its cardinal doctrines are decentralisation, *varnashramdharma* and trusteeship. These are facts which the people of the west have not yet studied, far from understanding their implications. Our ancient village societies were built upon these three principles and therefore, inspite of the existence of different classes in society, there was perfect peace and accord.

Sj. Mashruwala shows how Mahatmaji has pointed out clearly that revolution leads to destruction, that destruction means creation of hatred and that society cannot be established permanently on class war and perpetual hatred. It is a fact that a reshuffling of society is needed and needed very badly, but this does not mean that the existing classes should fight with one another. Adjustment is a necessary process and even in the physical world, this is perpetually going on. Everybody who happens to be in possession of wealth such as a mine or a zamindari must consider that he is only trustee or a *sabait* and that he has no right to appropriate all the advantages accruing from his property for his exclusive use or enjoyment. If he does so, the result will be dwindling in productive powers as shown by Karl Marx and his friend Engel. The real remedy is not destruction as they thought but a reconstruction or a proper approach to lessen the differences which have appeared on account of ignorance accumulated through centuries. As a matter of fact, Gandhism stands poles asunder from Marxism and while accepting the right of possessing, it differs from modern capitalism in that it advocates trusteeship and decentralisation. Excessive concentration in cities has created the modern food problem and different selfish *isms*. These can be dealt with properly if people are taught to live in decentralised areas where food is sufficient but

many modern amenities absent. Mahatmaji has proved conclusively that capitalistic selfishness has so far failed to bring about any real happiness direct and that if the truth is boldly stated, it must be said that it has been the direct cause of modern restlessness leading to unhappiness.

Sj. Mashruwala, therefore, believes that ultimately Gandhism will triumph as it contains the essence of truth.

H. C. Mookerjee

The Ardent Pilgrim: An Introduction to the Life and Work of Mohammed Iqbal—By Iqbal Sing: Published by Orient Longmans, 1951: Pages Vi+246: Price Rs. 6-8.

The average Indian knows of Iqbal scarcely anything more than his authorship of the unofficial national anthem, "Hindustan Hāmārā." The writer presents the whole man in a thoroughly informative and impartially critical volume. It is his latest contribution to the series of biographies of eminent Indians like Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, and Raja Rammohan Roy, on which the author is working at present.

The aim of the book is two-fold. "Firstly, it provides a biography of Iqbal; secondly, it tries to trace the growth and development of his social, political, and philosophical ideas, as they are revealed to us through his poetry and his writing in prose, and which make him one of the most significant as well as daring thinkers of contemporary Asia." The author sets the biography against the larger background of heredity, ethnic origin, and social-cultural environment. The latter again is a composite canvas, woven of diverse textures: . The rationality of the scientific age which he could not deny, the race for material progress that he saw in the 'cities of the West', as well as the mystic 'message of the East' and the ardent pilgrimage 'in search' of a faith! But when the turn comes for unveiling the Eternity realized, only 'Dead Sea Fruits' are gathered. With the disillusionment of ideals came his decline on the physical level and descent on the imaginative plane. Mr. Sing seeks to dispel the idea harboured in many quarters about Iqbal being the author of the Pakistan Conception by pointing out that "the creation of Pakistan represents the negation of those very ideals of polity which Iqbal was so vehemently supposed to champion." Indian philosophy, absorbed from the atmosphere, naturally entered his thought-structure; Western culture he imbibed under its stimulating influence; while a substratum of Arabic religious spirit remained deep—ingrained in his nature all through.

As a biography the volume is a successful piece of objective portraiture of one of the most complex personalities that inspired and moulded the shape of things during one of the most confused yet stimulating transitions in Indian history. The author's claim of having steered

clear of the commonest fault of biography-writers tending towards hagio-graphy, canonizing public figures in high positions in the national pantheon, does not seem to be fully borne out by his treatment of the subject. For instance, while not sparing his hero the exposure of little personal weaknesses and inconsistencies of profession and conduct, the biographer appears to invest the figure with a romantic halo in the portrayal of his subject as a poet, metaphysician, and dreamer.

Iqbal's personality, on his own confession, is "a sum of contradictions," and admits of various interpretations; to the Islamic world, the prophet of Indo-Muslim Renaissance; to all others, the poet standing serene in far less controversial grounds. In view of this inherent difficulty in the study of the personality and the meagreness of reliable data about his career, Mr. Sing's book has documentary value to researchers in the unfolding of Iqbal's spirit, in tracing the growth of his mind, in seeking light for the subtle changes in his poetic and political thoughts from the darker reactions of his psychic life to the circumstances of his physical existence. The biographer is particularly conscious of the multidimensional character of the personality he deals with. Iqbal is fully represented in the volume as the prophet and symbol of political loyalties of Muslim intelligentsia, and as supplying the philosophic sanctions which the insurgence of the new nation needed. "And for Pakistan there is nobody else, Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah not excepting, who could fit the role of a national philosopher."

But inspite of the details of personal life and shades of political thought of his subject with which the biographer provides us, his emphasis is on the poetry of Iqbal. Instead of trying our ingenuity to explain the poetry in relation to the life, we should rather, according to him, attempt to get an understanding of his personality and the relation in which he stood to the life of our epoch from the direct study of his poetry. Himself following this principle, the biographer sees the man in the correct socio-historical perspective: "As a prophet Iqbal stands between two epochs, the old feudal and patriarchal and the modern capitalist-bourgeois." And thus he places the poet in the same setting. "Standing on the edge of two epochs, he represents the last in the chain of classical poets of the Indo-Persian order and first of the moderns." And again, "though he had been influenced by the European Romantics and was temperamentally akin to them in many respects, he adhered to the orthodox and traditional modes of poetry." And the critic in Mr. Sing discerns the humanizing aspect of Iqbal's poetry, liberated from the isolation of the pure imaginative realm: "Iqbal was responsible for making poetry an effective vehicle by establishing its organic connection with social and historical processes."

The style of the volume is in the best journalistic vein in which Mr. Sing habitually writes. His approach is always direct, expression precise,

and language marked by a quality of transparency, that is never allowed to be obscured by jargons of the critical profession, though in his evaluation of the poetry of Iqbal Mr. Sing seems to be fully conscious of the latest principles of criticism, including those of Dr. Richards.

But Mr. Sing's enthusiasm for Iqbal's poetry is revealed less in theoretical discussions and more genuinely in snatches of translation of his verse. Here is an exquisitely lyrical passage from *Bal-i-gibreel—the wing of Gabriel*, rendered with full emotional sympathy and delicacy of imagination :

"Hidden in your dust are the marks.
Of ardent prostrations.
Your morning breeze carries within it
the silent call of the Muezzin to prayers.
Your beauties need once more the carmine
touch of henna,
For there is still colour left in my life-blood.
I have seen ; I have seen ; and I have heard ;
and I have made others listen to me.
Yet the heart's consolation is not in seeing
and not in knowing."

We wish Mr. Sing had presented his readers more plentifully such sweet and delicate renderings.

The short bibliography at the end of the Volume will be very helpful to the general reader who at glance may know the nature and extent of Iqbal's writings. A list of his poetical works, with their original titles in Persian or Urdu and English renderings thereof is prepared in a chronological order from 1915 to 1938. The companion list of Iqbal's prose works includes his critical writings, speeches, and letters. Readers, not acquainted with Persian and Urdu but interested in the poet, will get here ready reference to standard English translations of Iqbal's poetry. Lastly, a selected list of books on Iqbal by Indians, both Muslims and non-Muslims, as well as by Englishmen, affords opportunities for further critical study of the poet and thinker.

K. LAHIRI

Ourselfes

CHANCELLOR ADDRESSES UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.

On the 4th August, 1952, the Governor, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, addressed University Postgraduate students in the Darbhanga Hall on the utility of their joining the Rifle Clubs. He was accompanied by Mr. H. N. Sircar, Inspector-General of Police. It should be stated here that the Rifle Clubs now existing in Calcutta and in other parts of West Bengal were established on the initiative of Mr. Sircar. Requested by the Governor he spoke to the students about the origin and development of these Clubs. He pointed out that on the achievement of independence he thought it necessary to set up these Clubs so that an increasing number of people of this province, particularly young men and women, might get a good training in the use of arms. He pointed out that at the start there was an excellent enthusiasm among young people for being members of the Rifle Association. But gradually the enthusiasm waned and this so much so that at the present time it has become necessary for him to remind the Bengali people that to learn the use of arms is both a privilege and a duty for the citizens of an independent country. It should not be expected that in moments of internal commotion or of external attack other people should take the responsibility of protecting their hearth and home and maintaining the independence of their State. Besides it was also a fact that membership of the Rifle Clubs infuse a kind of discipline which has become indispensable for us at the present time to cultivate. He observed further that to build up a new Club would involve a considerable expenditure. Consequently Post-graduate students, if they so desired, might, at a very small expense, become associated with the existing Rifle Clubs in the city. By enlisting themselves as members of these institutions they would not only get a very desirable training but what was more they would set an example to the younger students of the colleges.

The Governor in his own address reminded the assembled students that even a few years back not only none would have asked them to join a Rifle Club and learn the science and art of using arms but what was more even if they desired of their own to pick up this knowledge, they would have been confronted with too many obstacles. In this regard he narrated his own personal experiences in his young

days. In view of this, he pointed out, the students should regard it as an honour that the Chief of the Police was himself requesting them to become trained in the use of Rifles. He, however, observed that it was really very regrettable that the quota allotted to West Bengal in respect of the territorial forces had not been filled yet. Many people appeared still to be very indifferent to this question of acquiring military training and experience. It was regrettable still more that while young girls were coming forward to receive training in the use of arms, boys were lagging behind. The Governor was sure that Post-graduate students would do everything necessary to remove the stigma and get enlisted in an increasing number as members of the Rifle Clubs.

In this regard we add our own voice to that of the Governor and the Inspector-General of Police and call upon University students to participate in the activities of all institutions which provide training in the use of arms. At one time we were vehement in our protest against the artificial distinction which the British Government maintained between the so-called martial and non-martial races. This theory which is fundamentally so false, will however appear plausible if the response of the Bengali people to the call of the Governor continues to be poor.



Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notice

Applications are invited for the post of Palit Professor of Chemistry.

The Professor shall receive a salary in the scale of Rs. 800-50-1000 and shall be entitled to the benefit of the University Provident Fund, so long as he will remain in service. A higher initial salary may, however, be paid to a properly qualified person.

The duties attached to the post and the conditions governing the appointment are given in detail in the University Calendar for 1942 (pp. 80-81).

Candidates who must be Indians (*i.e.*, persons born of Indian parents) must be scholars of high repute and must have extensive research work to their credit.

Candidates should state in their applications, their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications and experience in teaching and research and also in guiding research work indicating the particular branches of Chemistry in which the researches have been carried out.

The applications should be accompanied by a precis of the particulars to be furnished in a statement form to be obtained from the undersigned.

Applications with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) must reach the undersigned on or before the 30th August, 1952.

Senate House :
The 18th July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. C/48/41/Aff.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1951-52, the Krishnagar College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the I.Sc. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1953 and not earlier.

Dated the 9th July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. C/44/50/Aff.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1951-52, the Uttarpara College, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the I.Sc. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1953 and not earlier.

Dated the 8th July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. C/24/1/Aff.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1951-52, the Bankura Christian College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the I.Sc. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1953 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,
The 5th July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. C/53-5/Aff.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1951-52 the Bangabasi College, Calcutta shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Junior Military Course to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards, with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1953 and not earlier.

Dated the 10th July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. R/9/52/CSR

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXI of the University Regulations relating to the syllabus of studies for Elements of Civics and Economics for the I.A. Examination have been sanctioned by Government :—

That the following changes be made in the Syllabus for Elements of Civics and Economics in Chapter XXXI (I.A. Examination) of the Regulations.

In p. 207 of the Regulations the syllabus of studies under paper I(b) in 'Elements of Indian Administration' be replaced by the following—

A Brief Historical Background.

The Constitution of India.

The directive principles of State policy.

Citizenship : the Fundamental Rights.

The Union—(1) The Executive, the President, the Council of Ministers, other officers—
(2) The Parliament; the Council of States and the House of the People; composition and functions.

(3) Comptroller and Auditor-General.

The States—(1) The Executive; the Governor, the Council of Ministers, other Officers—

(2) The State Legislature; Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils; Composition and functions.

Relations between the Centre and the States (in outline) Legislative and Administrative.

Revenue and Expenditure of the Union and the States.

The Services.

The Judicial System.

The District Administration.

Local Self Government—Municipalities, District Boards, Local or Taluk Boards, Union Boards or Panchayet committees; Constitution and function; Sources of Revenue and Heads of Expenditure.

That the following sentence be added at the end :—

The extent of the courses will be determined from time to time by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Board of Studies concerned.

The above changes will be given effect to from the examination of 1954.

Senate House,
The 23rd July, 1952.

S. DATTA.
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW

NOTICE

The following candidates who attempted to use unfair means at the University and other examinations of 1952 have been expelled from the examinations concerned and awarded punishment as noted below against each :—

Roll No.	Enrol No.	Name of candidate	Father's Name	Examination at which appeared	Punishment awarded.
723	AX 732	Sheo Pd. Singh Chauhan	Th. Chandra Bhal Singh Chauhan	B.A. Pass	Debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1953. Will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the session 1953-54.
577	AX 612	Rajendra Nath Sri-vastava	Dr. R. S. Srivastava	Do.	Do.
682	AX 710	Satya Deo Sharma	Pt. Raj Narain	Do.	Do.
147	SY 248	Prem Narain Chaddha	Shri B. N. Chaddha	B.Sc. Pass	Do.
162	SY 293	Ramesh Chandra II	Shri Sagar Mal Agarwal	Do.	Do.
392	SX 189	Radhey Pandey	Lal Pt. Sohan Lal Pandey	Do.	Do.
504	SZ 694	Syed Qamar Ali	Shri Mobashir Ali	B.Sc. Prev.	Expelled from the examination of 1952 and will not be promoted to the next higher class this year.
80	SZ 510	Syed Mahmood Azam Kazmi	Shri S. Ismail Mohd. Azam Kazmi	Do.	Do.
512	AY 548	Narendra Kumar Bhargava	Pt. Purshattam Lal Bhargava	B.A. Pass	Expelled from the examinations and debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1953. Will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the session 1953-54.
363	SY 102	Harish Chandra Tewari	Shri Marma Lal Tewari	B.Sc. Pass	Do.
287	SY 587	Anand Gupta	Shri Raghbir Saran Gupta	B.Sc. Pass	Expelled from the Examination of 1952.
286	SY 586	Abdul Fattah Khan.	Abdul Jabbar Khan	B.Sc. Pass	Expelled from the examination of 1952 and debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1954. Will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the session 1954-55.

125	SX 148	Mohd. Khan	Majeed Khan	Shri Ser Mohd. Khan	B.Sc. Pass	Expelled from the examination of 1952 and debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1953. Will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the session 1953-54.
412	SX 268	Sudama Rastogi	Prasad Rastogi	L. Behari Lal Rastogi	B.Sc. Pass	Do.
918	AZ 1000	Shrish Kumar		Sri Girja Dayal	B.A. Prev.	Expelled from the examination of 1952 and will not be promoted to the next higher class this year.
15	SZ 545	Mahesh Chandra		Sri Ram Lakhan	B.Sc. Prev.	Do.
42	199	Bhuwan Pant.	Chandra Pant.	Pt. Durga Pd. Pant.	L.T.	Expelled from the examination of 1952, debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1953. Will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the session 1953-54.
84	MY 124	Mahavir Singh Gupta		Shri Balwant Singh Gupta.	Final Professional Part II (MBBS) (Cond. Course).	Expelled from the Final Professional Part II (MBBS) examination of April 1952.
107	MX 115	Mrs. Prem Rathore.	Lata Rathore.	Munna Lal Ji	Do.	Do.
272	AY 305	Deoki Pandey.	Nandan Pandey.	Avadh Behari Pandey	B.A. Pass	Expelled from the B.A. Pass examination of 1952 and debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1953. Will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the session 1953-54.
338	SX 558	Pritam Singh Mahra		Dharan Singh Mahra.	B.Sc. Pass	Expelled from the examination of 1952 and debarred from all the examinations of 1953. Will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the session 1953-54.
266	AY 300	Dan Singh Vanshi.	Bahadur Singh Surya Vanshi.	Th. Rudra Pratap Singh.	B.A. Pass	Do.
159	AW 607	Virendra Singh Niraujan		B. Chittar Singh Niraujan	LL.B. Prev.	Do

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Proceedings of the Syndicate

No. S2-2851-52. Waltair.

Encl :—1 Statement.

Sub :—Misconduct at Examination—March-April 1952.

Read :—Reports from Chief Superintendents and Examiners, University Examinations March-April 1952.

Order.

The results of the following candidates for the Examinations noted against each are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for a period noted against each.

Name of the Candidate	Examination.	Regd. No.	Period of Rustication.
1. V. Sundaram	M.B. B.S.,	430	Debarred for one year and not permitted to appear for University Examination before March-April 1953.
2. K. Viswanadham Gupta	Matriculation	2800	Debarred for two years and not permitted to appear for University Examination before March-April 1954.

(By Order).
Sd/Illegible,
Dy. Registrar.

AGRA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. 90 of 1952-53.

The following candidates, having been found using unfair means at the University Examinations of 1952, have been debarred as mentioned below :—

A. Debarred from appearing at any examination of the University before 1954.

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name	B.A.	College
355	A511127	Shanker Pala Bhartiaya		A.K. Col., Shikohabad
965	A503267	Surendra Sharma		Govt. Col., Ajmer
980	A491531	Nauratan		Do.
3103	A493166	Syed Jamil Ahmed		Victoria Col., Gwalior
3291	A502647	Prem Chand Jain		Christian Col., Indore
3332	A491939	Abdul Latif Khan		Do.
4935	A462137	Ram Prasad Sinha		D.A.V. Col., Kanpur
5418	A511712	Syed Irshad Hussain Rizvi		Teacher
6413	A501875	Anand Swarup Vats		Meerut Col., Meerut
6511	A501953	Jagdish Prasad Sharma		Do.
7460	A509635	Jitendra Kumar Saxena		K.G.K. Col., Moradabad
7612	A509171	Brij Ballabh Johari		Raza Degree Col., Rampur
7653	A493863	Ram Kripal Gupta		K.G.K. Col., Moradabad

M.A. PREVIOUS

2320	A495657	Jagdish Chandra Srivastava	Teacher
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B.Sc.

15	A502990	Chhail Behari Lal Gautam	Agra College, Agra
200	A494591	Charan Singh	B.R. Col., Agra
344	A48445	Krishan Kumar Sharma	Do.
945	A505509	Shital Prasad Srivastava	St. Andrew's Col., Gorakhpur
1105	A483827	Sardar Singh Dhadha	Holkar Col., Indore
1181	A507333	Mohindra Pratap	Ch. Ch. Col., Kanpur
1312	A498021	Kamni Kumar Mathur	D.A.V. Col., Kanpur
1349	A49419	Nemi Kumar Banerji	Do.
1419	A49489	Shobha Ram Sharma	Do.
1499	A49506	Udai Bir Singh Sengar	Do.
1584	A502141	Dharmvir Singh Chaudhary	Meerut Col., Meerut
1607	A50253	Harjit Singh Gorkel	Do.
1618	A50275	Jagdish Kumar	Do.
1650	A502199	Kewal Krishan Sachdev	Do.
1683	A502570	Mohd. Ahmed Qureshi	Do.
1878	A506260	Dheendra Kumar Jain	Coronation Hindu Col., Moradabad
1897	A493579	Sher Bahadur Singh	Do.
1904	A497777	Ikramulha Khan	Raza Degree Col., Rampur

B. COM.

36	A50220	Deu Dayal Gupta	St. John's Col., Agra
81	A50260	Suresh Chandra Agarwal	Do.
409	A50934	Daya Prasad Sasangi	St. Andrew's Col., Gorakhpur
854	A503701	Ram Gopal Gupta	D.A.V. Col., Kanpur
1217	A502387	Mohd. Zafar Jamil Farooqi	Meerut Col., Meerut

M. COM. (PREVIOUS)

272	A471921	Sheo Shankar Lal Agarwal	D.A.V. Col., Kanpur
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M. COM. (FINAL)

241	A509413	Bashist Narain Singh	V.S.S.D. Col., Kanpur
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B.Sc. (AG.)

108	A507572	Surendra Singh	B.R. Col., Agra
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LL.B. (PREV.)

163	A46946	Shiam Sundar Sharma	Agra Col., Agra
308	A491410	Jas Raj	Govt. Col., Ajmer
949	A47400	N. P. Sharma	Victoria Col., Gwalior
1516	A5114079	R S Tiwari	D.A.V. Col., Kanpur
2238	A496940	Hari Das Porwal (Ex. St.)	K.G.K. Col., Moradabad

B. T.

265	A472963	Ram-Autar Gupta	Coronation Hindu Col., Moradabad
290	A517763	Seshil Chandra	Do.

B. In the case of the following candidates their examination of 1952 only has been cancelled :—

B.A.

929	A503242	Mohan-Singh Rathore	Govt. Col., Ajmer
4286	A516713	Murari Singh Tyagi	Teacher

B.Sc.

1558	A502121	Bharat Bhushan Agarwal	Meerut Col., Meerut
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Senate House, Agra.
Dated : June 18, 1952.

L. P. MATHUR, D.Sc.
Registrar.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION (APRIL), 1952

Notification No. 52-I-Disqualification.

The following candidates have been disqualified from appearing at any Examination of the University for having used unfair means at the Intermediate Examination held in April, 1952, for the period and under the Regulations for the Conduct of Examinations shown against each :—

Roll No.	Regd. No.	Name of Candidate	Father's Name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified
1060	52.ez.2045	Surinder Singh	Sawan Singh	Delhi	For 1952 only under Regulation 11(b).
3250	52.ez.2108	Nand Kishor	Moti Ram	Delhi	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12. (iii).
3367	52.ez.2193	Prem Singh Ahuja	Bihari Lal	Delhi	Do.

5216	50.ez.9653	Gurcharan Singh	Trilok Singh	Jullundur	Do.
5728	49.a.67	Kahan Singh	Sohan Singh	Amritsar	For 1952 only under Regulation 11(b).
6994	49.jd.138	Amrik Paul Singh	Madan Gopal Singh	Delhi	Do.
6998	52 ez.2600	Harcharan Singh	Mangle Singh	Delhi	Do.
7106	50.p.239	Gurcharan Singh	Sham Singh	Delhi	Do.
7580	49.u.224	Sat Parkash	Ganga Sahaya	Ambala	Do.
7855	49.Gur.107	Piara Singh	Jagat Singh	Hoshiarpur	Do.
7930	49.jd.220	Desh Deep Saddy	Karam Chand	Jullundur	Do.
9186	50.p.18	Awatar Singh	Kudrat Singh	Mohindra College, Patiala	Do.
9354	50.rn.87	Romesh Chand Kapoor	Charan Das Kapoor	Ripudaman College, Nabha	Do.
10515	50.dm.61	Harcharan Singh	Sohan Singh	D.M. College, Moga	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii).
10537	50.dm.156	Ajmer Singh	Chanan Singh	Do.	Do.
10972	50.gch.32	Kunj Behari Lal Sharma	Ram Chander Vaid	Govt. College, Hissar	For 1952 & 1953 under Reg. 14 (a).
11283	50.hind.85	Sakandar Singh	Gian Singh	Hindu National College, Haryana	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii).
11560	50.dj.181	Gurmit Singh	Dedar Singh	D.A.V. College, Jullundur	Do.
12126	50.al.49	Darshan Singh	Hukam Singh	Arya College, Ludhiana	For 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955 & 1956 under Reg. 13.
12335	50.vc.2	Atam Parkash Sharma	Krishan Dutt	Vaish College, Rohtak	For 1952 only under Reg. 11 (b).
12343	50.vc.71.	Rameshwar Dass Goel	Kishori Lal	Do.	Do.
12415	50.vc.63.	Prakash Chand Gupta	Hari Kishan Gupta	Do.	Do.
12624	50.cnd.253	Jetha Singh	Jhanga Singh	P.U. Camp Col., Delhi	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii).
12627	50.cnd.289	Kundan Lal	Kishan Chand Chugh	Do.	Do.
12708	50.cnd.661	Tilak Chand Jain	Meol Raj Jain	Do.	For 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955 & 1956 under Reg. 13.
12748	50.al.95	Hari Om Dilawari	Bhagat Ram Dilawari	Do.	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii).
13298	50.u.167	Dharam Paul	Malik Chand	S.D. College, Ambala Cantt.	For 1953 only under Reg. 11 (b).
14408	49.ha.160	Rajinder Pal Sharma	Gauri Nath Sharma	Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii).
14472	50.ha.162	Ved Parkash Sakhuja	Amrit Lal	Do.	For 1952 only under Reg. 11 (b).
14873	51.ez.6357	Sukbdev Raj Khullar	Nand Lal Khullar	Daronacharya S.D. College, Gurgaon	Do.
15059	50.dh.349	Prem Kumar Bajaj	Des Raj	D.A.V. College, Hoshiarpur	Do.
15205	49.hind.37	Purduman Singh	Ram Singh	Hindu National College, Haryana	Do.
15744	50.gl.74	Hari Singh Khaira	Nikka Singh	Govt. College, Ludhiana	Do.
15807	50.al.169	Mukhtiar Singh	Phumman Singh	Arya College, Ludhiana	Do.
15950	50.al.65	Gursewak Singh	Ganda Singh	Do.	Do.

Solan : (Simla Hills)
June 7, 1952.

BHUPAL SINGH,
Registrar.

B.A. & B.Sc. EXAMINATION (APRIL), 1952.

Notification No. 52-B—Disqualification.

The following candidates have been disqualified from appearing at any Examination of the University for having used unfair means at the B.A. & B.Sc. Examination held in April,

1952 for the period and under the Regulations for the Conduct of Examinations shown against each :—

Roll No.	Regd. No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	Dist. or Institution	Period for and the Regulations under which disqualified
4646	52.ez.1407	Parkash Chand	Ravi Ram	Pepsu	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii)
4915	49.ja.50	Sham Sunder Sharma	Haveli Ram	Jullundur	For 1952 only under Reg. 11 (b).
7141	48.ja.102	Raj Kumar Jain	Mangat Ram	Ambala	Do.
7151	47.ez.25345	Dharam Paul Nangia	Chaman Lal	Delhi	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii)
7261	51.ez.2948	Shiv Dayal Gupta	Raja Ram Gupta	Do.	For 1952 only under Reg. 11 (b)
7581	48.ha.215	Bhopaul Singh Ahluwalia	Dhian Singh	Amritsar	Do.
8305	48.ja.126	Mukand Lal Gauba	Pisara Lal	Doaba College, Jullundur	For 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 12 (iii)
8806	48/A.ram.12	Narindar Nath Sharma	Amolak Ram Sharma	Do.	Do.
9903	48/A.rf.10	Ved Prakash Tandon	Chokha Nand Tandon	R.S.D. College, Ferozepur	Do.
11916	48.gur.50	Kirpal Singh	Lachman Singh	Ramgarhia Col., Phagwara	For 1952 only under Reg. 11(b)

Solan, (Simla Hills)
The 26th June, 1952.

BHUPAL SINGH,
Registrar.

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

No. Ex/675/19. Notification.

It is hereby notified under direction of the Syndicate that the results of following candidates, who have been found guilty of having practiced unfair means at the examinations mentioned against their respective names, held by this University in March-April 1952, are hereby cancelled. They are further debarred from appearing at any University or Faculty Examination till 1st January 1954.

Seat No.	Candidate's Name	Name of the Institution	Name of the Examination
189	Parikh Harivadan Jivaulal	Faculty of Science	Intermediate Science
206	Raval Naveenchandra Manilal	Intermediate College	F. Y. Arts

No. Ex/676/19. Notification.

It is hereby notified under direction of the Syndicate that the results of the following candidates, who have been found guilty of having practiced unfair means at the Examinations mentioned against their respective names, held by this University in March-April 1952, are hereby cancelled and they are declared to have failed at the Examinations concerned.

Seat No.	Candidate's Name	Name of the Institution	Name of the Examination
246	Valvi Tukaram Nuraji	Intermediate College	Inter. Arts
19	Patel Madhusudan Apabhai	Do.	F. Y. Commerce
7	Dev Vijay Vyas	Faculty of Science	F. Y. Science
281	Shah Hasamukhlal Chandulal	Do.	Do.
414	Patel Govindbhai Bhailalbhai	Do.	Do.

Baroda,
20th June, 1952,

Sd/Illegible
Asstt. Registrar.

Latest Publications of the Calcutta University

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA (Fifth edition Revised and Enlarged) by Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B. Royal 8vo. pp. 637 with plates—Rs. 15.

INDIA AND NEW ORDER (An Essay on Human Planning) by Srischandra Chatterjee, C.E. Demy 8vo. pp. 178 with Illustrations—Rs. 10.

BHARATIYA BANAU SADHI with 3 Indexes and 672 Plates (in Bengali), by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc. (Edin.), F.R.S.E., F.N.I., Superintendent, Indian Botanic Garden, Calcutta and Sri Ekkari Ghosh. Royal 8vo. pp. 670+672 Plates.

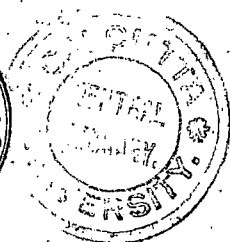
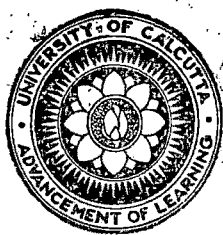
Vol. I—Rs. 10;

Vol. II—Rs. 6;

Vol. III—Rs. 6.

INTRODUCTION TO TANTRIC B U D D H I S M, by Dr. Sashibhusan Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., Royal 8vo. pp. 248. Rs. 7-8.

To be had of all Leading Book-Seller



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1952

INDUS PEOPLE AND INDUS RELIGION

INDUS RELIGION—(II)

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

Animals represented among the Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Baluchistan finds are fairly numerous, including domesticated and wild animals, imaginary creatures like the unicorn, composite animals and therianthropic beasts, the serpent and the fish.

The cat and the mongoose are known from their remains. The more important representations of animals may be classified into the following groups : (1) animal figurines which might have served as cult objects or votive offerings ; (2) animal representations both in their natural and therianthropic forms which appear on seals etc. in association with deities or in mythological scenes ; (3) animal representations that occur with sacred accessories, and (4) chimerical, syncretic animal representations.

Among animal figurines that might have served as cult objects or votive offerings mention may be made of the numerous bull figurines and seals on which the unicorn occurs. The bull figurines are less numerous at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa than in Baluchistan. Eighty five specimens of terra cotta specimens of the humped bull have been found at the mound of Shahi-tump. (A.S.I. No. 43, p. 92). A total of sixty-six figurines have been found in trench V at the Kulli mound (*Ibid.*, pp. 125-126, Pl. XXII). Numerous similar bull figurines have been found at Mehi site and other ruined sites at Mashkai. According to Sir Aurel Stein the presence *en masse* of the bull figurines had its reason in motive of cult. "It is probable that these little representations of a humped bull had served as votive

offerings to some divinity representing the creative power in the world" (A.S.I. Memoir No. 43, p. 92). He writes again, "Considering the number of these representations. . . and the uniformity of the type throughout all chalcolithic sites at Makran and Jhalwan it seems difficult not to believe that this animal. . . was an object of popular reverence, if not of actual worship. (*Ibid.*, p. 161). Some of these bull figurines have ornaments on them (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXXI). Marshall thinks that the large number of the bull figurines found at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and north and south Baluchistan testify to the popularity of the cult of the bull. (Marshall *op. cit.*, p. 72). Referring to ornamental colour or garland round the neck of a bull figurine he says that it suggests that this figure served some religious purpose. (Marshall *op. cit.*, p. 355, No. 23; vs. 1539; cp. also seals 337, 340 and Pl. XCVII, 23). The bull does not appear on the carved seal representing the three faced deity noticed above. The reverse of the oblong terra cotta seal described by Vats and noticed above shows a humped bull standing by a trident-headed post along with a standing figure in front of what is interpreted as a two-storied structure. According to Vats "The structure is probably of a sacred character, and in view of the trident post and bull, which are peculiarly associated with Siva whose proto-type has been found at Mohenjo Daro the possibility of the standing figure being ultimately identified as another form of the same god may not be ruled out." (Vats, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 130, Pl. XCIII, 303). Dr. Banerjee observes that the standing figure "seems to hold a long staff in his left hand and a water-vessel-like object in the right one, just reminiscent of similar figures on certain punch marked coins which I have tentatively identified as Siva," (D.H.I., p. 181, Pl. I, Fig. 4). The standing figure in the seal is hardly liable to such interpretation but the occurrence of the trident post and the bull together is suggestive. We shall discuss this point when we deal with symbols. The unicorn, the mythical one-horned animal, appears on a large number of seals. Describing these unicorn seals Marshall writes that the animal has a sort of saddle or covering over its withers and sometimes also a series of rings round its neck (M.I.C., Vol. I, seals, 4, 36, 41, 44, etc.) There is also in all representations "a curious object placed beneath its head consisting of two vessels fixed on to a short centre staff which I take to be an incense burner." He thinks that incense played a prominent part in the cult of the one-horned ox. According to him the unicorn seals are amulet seals and the animal was either an object of cult worship or was used as a magic talisman. (*Ibid.*, p. 70).

As suggested by the seal No. 397 this animal might have been connected in some way with the cult of the pipal tree. The bison (seals 310-320), the rhinoceros (seals 341-347), the buffalo (seals 304-306), the elephant (seal 369) and the tiger (seals 350-357) are represented on seals sometimes as feeding from troughs placed before them. Marshall's interpretation is that the troughs were meant to symbolise food-offerings, "and the animals to which the offerings were made whether in captivity or in the wild state were objects of worship." (M.I.C., Vol. I, p. 70). Regarding the goat with a garland which appears on the seal illustrating tree worship and again in a therianthrope form in the seal of the nude tree goddess with long hair noticed above Marshall's interpretation is that this animal was a protecting local divinity of minor type accompanying the votary into the presence of the tree deity. (*Ibid.*, pp. 63-65). The buffalo appears on a seal noticed by Mackay as being attacked by a man with spear and also on two seals noticed by him. (Mackay, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. LXXXVIII, Fig. 270; Pls. XCI, 4a, XCII, 11b) and again on seal 510 (Pl. XCVI). He would connect the representations with later Siva legends.

There are many seals representing composite animals, some with human face, and both Marshall and Mackay would give them a religious character. The animal figures represent features of the goat or ram, or of the goat, bull and elephant or of the tiger, elephant, bull or antelope and some of these composite creatures have human faces. There are also some stone images of the creatures. (M.I.C., Vol. II, seals Nos. 378, 380, 381; Vol. III, Pl. C 7 and 8). Marshall thinks that the stone images were cult objects intended for worship and the seals were amulets used by the votaries of the syncretic form of deity. (M.I.C., Vol. I, pp. 66, 67).

The chimerical objects include also three-headed objects just as we have three-faced human figure. Seals Nos. 24 and 494 discovered by Mackay at Mohenjo Daro show the urus-like animal with the heads of a bull and an antelope. Mackay's suggestion is that these seals represent three separate deities. (Mackay, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 33). Referring to Pl. XII, Fig. 24, Marshall writes, "It is not impossible that triple-headed creatures represent triad of zoomorphic deities just as the three-faced god may also represent a triad." (M.I.C., Vol. I, p. 67, Note 1). Dr. Banerjee suggests that these chimerical objects are reminiscent of the human-faced winged bulls and griffins of the early Buddhist art of Central India. (D.H.I., p. 178). Referring to the human-faced animal representations he suggests that they are

reminiscent of the Ganas and Pramathas who are the attendants of Siva, and the Garudas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, etc. of the epic and Puranic literature and ancient and mediaeval art of the historic period should also be considered in this connection. (*Ibid.*, pp. 177, 179). Marshall's interpretation of a Harappa seal (M.I.C., Vol. I, Pl. XII, 12) is that the animals are taking part in some ritual ceremony and that they belong to the class of officiant animal genii. (*ibid* p. 70).

The data regarding serpent worship among Indus people are obtained from two seals found at Mahenjo Daro (M.I.C., Vol. III, Pl. CXVI, 29 and Pl. CXVIII, 11). They represent a human figure in the familiar attitude of *yoga* on whose either side a half-human and half-animal form of Naga with hands raised as it were in prayer. Marshall identifies the serpent as the cobra and notes that it appears to be distinct from the kneeling suppliant in front of it. He thinks that the suppliant is meant to be a Naga. (M.I.C. vol. I, p. 68). Dr. Banerjee accepts Marshall's view. He explains that the technique followed in these seals of "showing the Naga might have been somewhat similar to the one followed by the Bharut artist in his presentation of the scene of Elapatra Nagaraja's visit to the Buddha; at first Elapatra is shown in his serpent form, then he is given the human shape with the snakehood attached behind his head." Banerjee *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 177). But Marshall himself points out that it is not clear whether the snake body is attached to the back of the kneeling human figures in the two seal devices. The view that the kneeling figures are representations of the Naga is based on sculptures of historic periods and is not justified by the two seals in question. If the figure in the *yogi* posture represents a deity the two seals would show that the serpents were among his votaries. At any rate, they do not prove the existence of serpent worship, they only prove the association of serpents with the deity represented in the seals. It is to be observed that representations of the serpent are not reported among finds at chalcolithic sites in Baluchistan and Sind except one stylised rendering of a hooded snake on pottery unearthed at Periano Ghundai mound. (Memoir of A.S.I. no 37 p. 35).

In Buddhistic art the representation of the serpent, when it has religious import, is easily recognisable. It occurs either on the stupa or on pillars as the principal object of worship or shields the head of the Buddha or protects the sacred feet. The secular representations of the serpent consist of seven-hooded snake shielding male figures and a single snake rising at the back of the head of female figures.

Fergusson advances an interesting hypothesis that the serpent worshippers represented at Amravati tope were distinct from the rest of the people represented there. (Fergusson, *Serpent and Tree worship* p. 222)

Among Mohenjo Daro finds there is a baked clay prism with impressions in relief of figures of wild animals and hunting scenes including a lion looking askance followed by a lioness. (A.R.A.S.I. 1924-25 p. 64). No sacred import has been attributed to the representations. Among terracotta and other objects found at Harappa there is a two-faced image of lion on a cone shaped pedestal. (*Ibid* Pl. XXVII). It might have been a toy or as the pedestal would suggest, an object of sacred import. These representations are reminiscent of similar Buddhist sculptures at Sanchi, Amravati, Bharut etc. Two potsherds found at Chanhu Daro show the design of a peacock catching a serpent. (Memoir, A.S.I. No. 48 Pl. XX 2, 13). Mr. Majumdar writes commenting on this device "That the peacock was considered to be a sacred bird by the Indus people seems now almost certain after the recent discoveries at Harappa where on a class of necropolitan pottery, peacocks carrying departed human beings are represented" (*Ibid* p. 7).

Among animals represented on the seals etc. the cow is conspicuous by its absence. Reporting on finds of bull figurines at prehistoric sites in the Kej valley Sir Aurel Stein writes, "By the side of so many bulls it is of interest to note that only a single figurine of a cow (ii. 13) was found (A.S.I. Memoir no 43 p. 92). Marshall writes that the cow, the symbol of the mother-goddess, was not regarded as sacred either at Mohenjo Daro or at Harappa (M.I.C. vol. I p. 355). If there was really a bull cult prevalent throughout Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab in chalcolithic times, as has been suggested on the strength of numerous finds of bull figurines, the absence of the cow is striking. For, in Western Asia and Egypt where scholars have found analogies to many of the Indus finds of religious character the bull cult was associated with or co-existed with the cult of the cow-goddess (Cp. M.I.C. vol. I, p. 339). Marshall's interpretation of nearly all the animal representations on the seals etc. in natural form or in imaginary form as sacred or cult objects would prove that almost all animals known to the Indus people were objects of worship. While many of the animals appear in association with what undoubtedly represents a divinity that all the animals represented with a trough like object before them were cult objects require more evidence to prove acceptable. The presence of the incense burner,

which looks realistic enough, may be regarded as indicative of the sacred character of the animal with which it is associated. The absence of animal vehicles of anthropomorphic deities is striking, for animal vehicles represent a well known stage in the development from zoomorphism to anthropomorphism. It may be that the semi-human animal figures represent the transformation of zoomorphic deities into anthropomorphic deities. The fantastic composite animals, particularly those that have stone images and human faces, might belong to a class of semi-religious ghostly bodies like their later parallels of historic times. It is not necessary to suppose that they were objects of worship and there is no evidence to prove it. It is noteworthy that we have neither human-faced dogs, monkeys, foxes, bulls etc. Representations of birds with human faces or men with bird faces are also absent. The appearance of the bull with the trident-headed post is significant but evidence is inadequate to read Saiva influence into the association. The evidence of serpent-worship is inadequate but the representation of the Naga in an attitude of adoration recalls Buddhistic art. The association of animals with tree worship recalls Buddhistic art. The bizzare, composite creatures also recall Buddhistic art to some extent; we find not similar but the same kind of figures embodying fantastic ideas, some serving as decorative motifs, others representing mythical beings, not necessarily of religious character. *

PHALLICISM

It is possible that phallic worship was known to the Indus people. There is no doubt regarding the resemblance of some of the finds to the phallus but evidence that they were objects of worship is lacking. Generally speaking, it is the conical shape of several of these findings that has led to their being interpreted as phalli but these specimens have nothing about them indicative of their sacred character. The same remark applies also to the finds of ring-stones interpreted by Marshall as conventionalised representations of the female organ. Marshall's theory of the exposed phallus in regard to the representation of the three-faced deity in *yogic* posture would have been a conclusive evidence of phallicism if established, but the theory has no basis as we have seen. The association of Siva with phallus

* A Paharpur plaque of the Buddhistic period shows a tree with human face.. AR. of A.S.I., 1925-26, p. 112.

worship dates from the Epic and the earliest known linga of historical times is a *Mukhalinga* (Gudaimallam linga). We may now refer to the finds.

Finds which have been interpreted as representations of the phallus include both stone and terra cotta objects. Some of them are conical and others baetylic. The resemblance between some of the conical objects (M.I.C., Vol. I, Pl. XIV, 2 and 4 ; Pl. XIII, 3) and the conventional linga is striking. Referring to Figs. 4-6 in Pl. XII and Figs. 3 and 2 Marshall writes, "Though they resemble the Indian linga they equally resemble the baetylic stones of Western Asia such as the *ma-sebaah* and it would be in no way surprising if these baetylic cults of the Near and Middle East are proved to have a closer connection than that arising out of mere community of social customs." (M.I.C., Vol. I, pp. 60, 61). He admits that "the only reason for interpreting the Mohenjo Daro examples as phallic rather than baetylic is that their conical shape is conventionally associated with that of the linga." (*Ibid.*). The realism of some of the specimens (*Ibid.*, Pl. CLV, 23, 24 and 25) leads him to the conclusion that they were "unquestionably phalli." About the use of the specimens he says, "The only explanation applicable to them all is that they were sacred objects of some sort, the larger ones serving as aniconic aglamata for cult purposes, and the smaller ones as amulets to be carried on the person just as miniature lingas are carried by Sivaites to-day." (*Ibid.*, p. 59). The find of a realistic representation of the phallus has been reported also from N. Baluchistan (*Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 1 ; 7) and Sir Aurel Stein reports the find of a terra cotta representation of the phallus at the mound at Moghul Gundai. (*Memoir of A.S.I.* No. 37, p. 45, M.M. No. 125). Referring to a large cone of dark stone discovered at Harappa (Trench A i) Sahni writes that this object "resembling the Siva-linga of modern times. . . must have been used for worship." (A.R.A.S.I. for 1924-25).

So we find that on the ground of the realism of some of the conical stone objects it has been assumed that they were cult objects. In fact, except this realism there is hardly any other evidence in support of the view that they were cult objects. It is clear that the universality of linga worship in India has coloured all interpretations. Reference has been made to the find of a number of terra cotta cones with figures of animals. According to Sahni they were votive offerings. (A.R. of A.S.I. for 1924-25, Pl. XXVII, p. 74). The account of the association of Mahadeva with an evidently pre-existent independent phallus cult as given in the Mahabharata and the Rgvedic

references to the worship of the phallus would incline one to the view that the use of the representations of the detached phallus as a religious symbol, probably associated with fertility cult, was known among the Indus people. M.S. Vats notices an oblong terra cotta sealing already referred to (Vats, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCIII, 303) with legendary scenes on both its faces. The reverse shows a humpless bull standing by the side of a trident-headed post, a human figure standing in front of a two-storied structure. Below a bifurcated object which seems to be hanging down from a projection in front of the terrace is placed a domical object over the porch. According to Vats the structure is probably a sacred structure and he would identify the standing figure with Siva because of its appearance along with the trident post and bull (*Ibid.*, pp. 129, 130). Dr. Banerjee explains that the domical object over the porch is a representation of the phallus (D.H.I., p. 181). If Vats's interpretation of the nature of the structure is correct the domical object identified as linga would appear to possess religious significance and the bull and the trident post would also have religious association and the entire scene ought to be taken as a representation of a cult scene in which the appearance together of the phallus, the bull and the trident would be highly suggestive in the light of later history. Our own view is that the identification of the phallus is open to doubt; but the appearance of the trident which is an important emblem in the Buddhist religious art together with the bull, the cult of which makes its appearance suddenly in a mature form in the Epic period, is significant. We would not offer any hypothetical explanation at the moment.

Sir John Marshall's interpretation of bored ring stones (of stone, faience, shell etc.) found at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (M.I.C., Vol. I, Pls. XIII. 9-12; XIV. 6 and 8) that they represent the female symbol is generally accepted. He refers to the Srigundi stone at Malabar point and another stone and writes, "These and other stones of the same class are definitely regarded as yoni, the idea being that those who pass through them are, as it were, reborn." (M.I.C., Vol. I, p. 62). Referring to the small Taxila discs he writes, "That the same idea attached to ring stones as far back as the Mauryan period is evident from the ring stones recently unearthed at Taxila." Explaining why it is so evident he proceeds, "In these ring stones nude figures of the goddess of fertility are engraved in the central hole, thus indicating in a manner that can be hardly mistaken the connection between them and the female principle." (*Ibid.*). Marshall's principal argument is the analogy of somewhat similar finds of the

Mauryan and later periods. (Cp. his description of three discs found at Bhir mound and Hathila. A.R. of A.S.I. for 1927-28, p. 66). But these later finds differ materially from the Indus finds. The Taxila discs and others (Cp. descriptions of broken steatite disc found at Raighat by J. N. Banerjee, D.H.I., pp. 187-188) have female figures on them and representations of legendary scenes. What purpose these later discs really served is not known from the texts. For the ultimate source of his interpretation Marshall has to refer to a few instances of folk belief (For references see M.I.C., Vol. I, p. 62 and to *cakras* and *yantras* of the Tantras. The *cakras*, *yantras*, and *mandalas* have esoteric meanings in Tantrika symbolism with which we are not concerned. It is to be noted however, that it is not the disc with a whole in it but the triangle (*trikona*) that stands for the female symbol in the Sakta Tantra.* (*Ibid.*). With regard to the instances of folk belief such as is illustrated in the case of the Srigundi stone etc. referred to by Marshall it may be said that such belief has no basis in sacred literature and that it is of the same class as the folk belief which sees a Siva linga in an Asokan pillar.**

Marshall does not give any satisfactory reason as to why these bored stones should not be regarded as stone moneys; next, he overlooks the possibility that they might be spindle whorls; lastly, he also overlooks the possibility that at least the larger ones might have been used for architectural purposes. The evidence of the so-called realistic specimens of yoni and linga discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at chalcolithic sites in Northern Baluchistan cannot be used in favour of the interpretation put on the Indus bored stones by Marshall nor does his argument based on the analogy of later discs hold good. A bored stone has been found at the mound of Tando Rahim Khan in Johi (Sind) similar to the Mohenjo Daro specimens. It has been suggested that it might have served the purpose of a door socket. (A.S.I., Memoir No. 48, p. 105, Pl. XIX, 37). Fragments of undulating stone rings and several large sized rings have been discovered in mound B at Harappa by Sahni.

* মূলধারে ত্রিকোণাখো ইচ্ছাজানকিয়াবকে। মধ্যে ষয়তুলিঙ্গস্ত কোটিস্থানমপ্রভম, *Sabdakalpadruma*, 2-1217. The arghya represents the yoni in Siva lingas installed in Saiva temples. In the worship of earthen images of the linga it has to be placed in an arghya (*trikonamandala*) drawn on the earth. *Sabdakalpadruma*, 1-52.

** The lion pillar of Asoka at Lauriya (Champaran) is now worshipped as a phallus and is commonly known as Bhimsen's lathi. Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1879, p. 177. There are many such instances.

He has not suggested that they have any religious significance. (A. R. of A. S. I. for 1924-25, p. 79, Pl. XXVI). Reporting another find of a number of undulating stone rings he writes, "What purpose they served remains a mystery" (A. R. of A. S. I. for 1923-24, p. 56). The fourth strata (main trench, Harappa) was packed with a large number of stone rings of the same character as those described by General Cunningham. The find of a fragment of ring stone is reported from a pre-historic site near Chakradharpur (Bihar). It is stated that it was used for weighing a digging stick. (Memoir of A.S.I., No. 24 p. 5). Mr. Bruce Foote notices a number of ring stones among finds at pre-historic settlements in Bellary district. He does not suggest that they had any religious significance. (J. A. S. B., lvi, Pt. 2, No. 31887). Stone discs bored through the centre have been reported among finds in kistvaens in South Arcot. It has been suggested that they were probably used as platters. (Dist. Gaz. of South Arcot, Vol. I, p. 372).

The elaborate legendary scenes on the Taxila and Raighat stones discs would suggest that the smaller Indus ring stones could not have been of the same class. That these were made of stone as well as of faience, shell etc. would suggest that probably they represented money. The smaller discs might have also represented wheels with symbolical significance and as such might have been used as amulets. The larger bored stones probably served architectural purpose.

SYMBOLS

Symbols were widely in vogue among the Indus people. The subject of the use of symbols by the Indus people is of great importance for several reasons, one of which is that most of these symbols are in use also at the present time among the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas and another is that many of these symbols were the common property of many ancient peoples. This subject has not been studied in detail and we would draw the attention of scholars to it.

Among symbols appearing on seals and sealings, separately and together with pictographic legends and as devices on painted pottery are the swastikā, wheel, solar disc and trident. The obelisk has also been found. The horn or crescent which may be treated as a symbol will be dealt with in the section on masks, amulets etc.

The swastika : A large number of swastika seals have been found at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. (M.I.C., Vol. I, Ch. xvii, seals Nos. 500-515). Five or six limbed swastikas terminating in various kinds of

horned heads appear as a motif in some seals, (seal No. 383). Marshall connects them with the three-headed chimeras (*Ibid.*, p. 67). Swastika seals of yellow paste have been found at Mohenjo Daro (VS area, A.R. of A.S.I., 1925-26, p. 94). Finds in the Kej valley include painted pottery with swastika as a motif. (Memoir No. 43 of A. S. I., p. 101; see also Pl. XIV, Sh.T., vi., 13a. vii., 28b, etc., Pl. XVII Sh.T., vi. 15b, shows rows of swastikas on the outer side of a bowl).

The Wheel : It appears as a design on pottery. Sir Aurel Stein noticing ceramic finds in the Kej Valley writes, "Within the bowls by far the most frequent motif is a swastika like wheel placed in the centre with five curving arms, (vi. 10a, 13a, etc.). In vi. 13f the same motif appears with four arms only" (Memoir of A.S.I., No. 43, p. 100). Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit notices a Mohenjo Daro paste stamp seal (B site), "A paste stamp seal with the zebra or Brahmani bull (*Bos Indicus*) device in relief was found in a room in the N. W. corner of this site. The pictographic legends begins with two signs, the first of which is wheel associated with divinity in several early systems and the second is identical with the archaic Sumerian sign for mother" (A. R. of A. S. I. for 1924-25, pp. 64-65).

The solar disc : Mohenjo Daro finds include a number of objects which are described as solar discs (A. R. of A. S. I. for 1925-26, Pl. XXXIX, site VS 7.93). The finds at the Sur Jangal Mound in Lorlai District include a find which looks like a solar disc (A. S. I. Memoir No. 43, MMN 3). Stein notices a shell disc ornamented on its under-surface among objects found at Mehi site (*Ibid.*, p. 63, S. U. V. a I, Pl. VI). Two other discs are noticed in the same work, namely Pl. II, Kar 6.9 (a disc with ten arms) and Pl. XII, Sh. T. 17 (a disc with seven arms).

The obelisk : The finds at Harappa Mound F. include a stone obelisk. (Trench A(i)—A.R.A.S.I. for 1924-25). The Trident : It appears as a motif on pottery (Kul. V. IX, 3; Memoir A.S.I. No. 43). Reference has already been made to the oblong terra cotta sealing described by Vats which has legendary scenes on both sides, the reverse showing a humpless bull standing by a trident-headed post. The Lotus : It appears as a motif on painted pottery (in Kul. V. ix, 3, Pl. XXVII, 15 A.S.I. Mem. 43). A Jhukar plaque with lotus design (JK 555) and another (JK 339) are assigned to the Indo-Sassanian level (Mem. A.S.I., 48).

The swastika symbol was widely in use in the ancient world and is still in use in many parts of the world as an auspicious sign, as a talisman or an amulet against evil influences. There are several theories regarding its origin which has been traced to the Palaeolithic

age from the curved horns of the bison, from the arms of the octopus hooded snake etc., but the theory which has found general acceptance is that it originated from the spiral. The symbol was widely used as pottery design in the Bronze Age in many parts of Europe as the ruins of Troy and other ancient places show. The sign was also painted on the outside of houses as a preventive against lightning, fire etc., in different parts of the world. Its use was known to the ancient Hittites, in ancient Greece, Italy, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt, in Pre-Columbian America, North Africa, in Scandinavia, Iceland, Tibet, China and Japan. Somewhat resembling the Greek cross it has been regarded as a solar symbol like the wheel, disc, etc. It has been held that through the ancient Parthians the solar character of the sign was spread far and wide. In India it has been held to be an auspicious sacred sign by the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. The sign is associated at the Amravati tope with the Buddha's foot print, as a decorative motif in a sculptured medallion at Bharhut and at Sanchi it occurs in several of the Pali inscriptions. It occurs also at the Bhilsa tope. The occurrence of the symbol in the Indus Valley rules out the theory that it spread to India through the Parthians. Among the Jainas it is regarded as the sacred symbol of the seventh Tirthankar and a variant of it is regarded as the special symbol of the twenty fourth Tirthankara.

The lotus was regarded as the symbol of the sun-god in ancient Egypt and it has the same significance in India. In ancient times it was regarded also as a fertility symbol and probably as such came to be associated with the goddess Lakṣmi. It was regarded as the floating conch of Visnu. It is a sacred flower in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Buddha is *padmapani* and is depicted as seated on a lotus and he is said to have been born from a lotus. Nārāyaṇa is also *padmapani* and is conceived of as seated on a lotus. "The lotus symbolising the sun and the creative force came to hold a unique place in Indian art in all ages and all religious creeds." (D.H.I., p. 328). Visnu's wheel is sometimes represented as full blown lotus, the petals serving as spokes. The full blown lotus is a common decorative motif in Buddhist religious art. Lakṣmi seating on lofty lotus throne is depicted at Bharhut, and also at Bhilsa. The same representation occurs in one of the Azilises coins. (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 117). A three-headed snake rests on a lotus throne in the representation of the Nagaloka at Bharhut, (*ibid.*, p. 25). An Amravati bas relief represents sacred feet on the lotus throne shaded by Nagas. (Pl. LXXXIII, p. 82, Fergusson.)

Religious significance has attached to the wheel and its variant disc from very early times in India. Its use as a sun symbol is well known in early literature. A wheel-shaped cake was used as a sun symbol in the Vedic Maharatra festival (Keith, Religion, etc., Vol. 31, p. 67). According to the *Satapatha Brahman* a disc of gold was used as a sun symbol. (*Sat. Br.* vii. 4. 1. 10). The sun represented as a rayed disc appears as devices on the coins of Suryamitra and Bhanumitra dated at the 2nd century B.C. (DH. I. p. 13). Dr. Banerjee writes, "The commonest symbol to be found on the early punch-marked coins of India is designated by scholars as solar: it is the wheel and its numerous variants." (*Ibid.*, Pl. II Fig. 6, p. 152.) On some cast copper coins of the 3rd century B.C. the sun is represented as a large-rayed disc. (*Ibid.*, p. 153.) The wheel (*sudarsana cakra*), the special weapon of Visnu, is held to indicate the solar affinity of the god. The wheel is represented as an object of worship at Sanchi, Amravati and Bharhut. On the famous Prasenjita pillar the king is represented as paying his respect to the wheel surmounted by an umbrella and adorned with garlands. (Stupa of Bharhut, p. 111). It is sometimes represented as placed on a pillar. The wheel represents *dharmma* in the combination of symbols known as the Tri-ratna symbol which General Maisey describes as the disc and crescent symbol. It is a common feature both at Sanchi and Amravati, being associated with trisul, pillar, tree and sacred feet.

The Tri-ratna or disc and crescent symbol is a plain ornamented disc surmounted by a crescent generally dentated into a trident. Each of the component part of the symbol is often used separately. It occurs on altars, on votive pillars, on poles of standards, as a simple trident on a staff, etc. Plate LXX (Amravati) in Fergusson's work shows the Trisul on a throne being worshipped. As stated above in representations in sculptures the trident is often associated at Sanchi and Amravati with other sacred symbols such as pillar, tree, *cakra*, etc. The trident symbol can be traced in coins from 2nd century B.C., in the Gupta coins of Malwa, Kanauj, Magadha, Saurashtra, on Sassanian coins, on the coins of Indo-Scythian kings, etc. Among the other symbols that occur in these coins are wheels, altars, axe, club, bull, Saiva figures, etc. (Maisey, *Sanchi and Its Remains*, p. 87). Fergusson refers to a coin of king Krananda, brother of Amogha, attributed to one of the nine Nandas but held to be of a later date by him though anterior to Sanchi, in both faces of which there occur trident in conjunction with serpent, tree, deer,

stupa, swastika, etc. (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 148, note). The trident has been regarded as a Saiva symbol in later Indian art. This sectarian association of trident is recognised in some of the coins of the Kushan kings, in which the symbol occurs together with the bull and Siva anthropomorphically represented. The prominence given to the symbol in the almost contemporary Buddhist art would prove that the sectarian association was acquired. Attention has been drawn to the occurrence of a trident-headed post (*cp.* Sanchi Pl. VII Fig. I. Pls. X, XVI, XVII, etc. in Maisey's work) in an oblong terracotta seal described by Vats together with the bull. Saiva significance has been attributed to this association. The trident does not appear in association with the three-headed divinity in yogic posture which Marshall interprets as the prototype of Siva nor with the one-headed deity in the same posture. This circumstance and the wide use of the symbol in the early Buddhist art would go against Vat's interpretation of the symbol which is accepted by others.

The Harappa find of stone obelisk recalls the later *stambhas* or pillars. The pillar is an important object in the Buddhistic religious art represented at Sanchi, Amravati, Bharhut, etc. The late or *stambhas*, sometimes erected inside the precincts of sacred buildings crowned by animal figures like the well-known Asokan pillars, form an important feature in Buddhist religious art. Besides these monoliths there are other pillars of smaller size. One variety of these pillars are of sacred character, such as pillars surmounted by the trident or the wheel and associated with other sacred objects such as tree, sacred feet, etc. Clearly, these pillars were objects of worship. The other variety of pillars appearing in the rails round stupas at Sanchi and other places with inscriptions and sculptures were votive offerings. The offering of such pillars (*suci danam*) was an act of religious merit. (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, Pl. XXVI Fig. 1. Pl. LV, Nos. 9, 12, etc.). Ramaprasad Chanda refers to a three-sided prism of faience unearthed by Mr. Hargreaves depicting a procession of four standards (A.R.A.S.I. for 1925-26, Pl. XLV, Fig. 22) and the tree cult in the Indus Valley and writes, "The temptation to connect the Mauryan and Sunga tree and pillar cults with the tree and pillar cults of the Chalcolithic period in the Indus Valley is irresistible." (A.S.I. Memoir No. 41, p. 36).

The swastika, lotus and wheel appear as pottery designs and swastika seals, discs and representations of the wheel have been found in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan. The swastika and lotus

are still in use as decorative motifs, but their sacred symbolism is not forgotten even when they are used for artistic purposes. It may be, as has been suggested, that the Indus swastika seals probably served as talisman or amulet, but five or six limbed swastikas terminating in various kinds of horned heads would suggest that more meaning was attached to the symbol. Now, if all these symbols have solar significance in Indian religion and art, and they had the same significance in many other ancient religions, it is possible that they had also the same significance in the Chalcolithic Indus religion. This would mean that sun worship was known in some form or other among the Indus people. From the Indus religion these symbols and the trident symbol and the votive pillar passed on to Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism. Some of these symbols were assimilated by the Vedic ritualistic religion.

HORNS, MASKS AND AMULETS

The presence of horns on the head of a deity illustrates a stage between theriomorphism and anthropomorphism. The same intermediate stage is further illustrated by animal deities. The Egyptian god Chnum whose symbol was the ram had ram's horns as his head-dress. (Tiele, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 97.) Sebák the god of the Nile was a crocodile-headed god. (*Ibid.*, pp. 98-134). Both Pachet and Tafnu were cat-headed goddesses. (*Ibid.*, pp. 87. 192). Isis and Hathor were cow-headed goddesses. (*Ibid.*, p. 57.) It is found that only particular deities had horns and others had not. The horn of the goat by a process of abstraction became a symbol of fertility and plenty (cornucopia).

According to Marshall the horns on the heads of some Indus figures are an emblem of deity and others a mark of the priest of votary. (M.I.C., Vol. I, p. 55.) As representations of horned deity Marshall refers to Pl. XII, Figs. 17, 18, 22 and XIII 17. Fig. 17 in Pl. XII is that of the famous three-faced deity in yogic posture. Reference has already been made to the view of Mackay who is in doubt whether what look like horns in this seal and in 222 and 235 are really horns and not head-dresses (Mackay *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 335). The head-dress in the seal of the nude deity is described by Mackay as "surmounted by a plant motif with three branches." (*Ibid.*) It has been described as "trisul horns" by Dr. Banerjee. The three-pointed head-dress appears on some other seals on human figures. Two human figures looking like toys have similar head-dress (A.R. A.S.I. for 1925-26, Pl. XXXII, Figs. 8 and 9; see also female fig. (d)

Pl. XXVII, A.R.A.S.I. for 1924-25). The peculiar three-pointed head-dress has been interpreted as horn and a mark of divinity by Marshall mainly on the analogy of the Egyptian horned deities. This analogy does not hold good in India where horned deities are unknown. The theory of development of trident from this doubtful horn on the head of some representations is untenable because, the trident symbol was known in the Indus religion. Dr. Mackay's interpretation is most probably correct.

The find of a number of terracotta masks with horns supports this view. Referring to them Marshall writes that the presence of horns strongly suggest that these masks represented a deity rather than that they were dolls. (M.I.C., Vol. I Pl. XCV 1-3 p. 340). Masks no doubt have been in use in religious and semi-religious ceremonies but any sacred significance that might attach to them comes from their representing particular deities anthropomorphically or zoomorphically conceived and represented. There is however no ground for differentiating these horned masks from the tiger-head masks which have been found at Mohenjo Daro. (A.R.A.S.I. for 1925-26, Dk area, p. 9). Probably both varieties were toys. There is no evidence to support the interpretation that the Indus terracotta masks had a religious significance.

The large number of amulet seals found shows that the notion of magic was popular among the Indus people. It is noteworthy that the largest number of these seals represent the mythical animal unicorn. Marshall's suggestion is that smaller conical objects and ring-stones might have been used as amulets. (M.I.C., Vol. I, pp. 59-63). The swastika seals might have been used for the same purpose. The use of sacred symbols as amulets is proved by representations of necklaces of sacred symbols at Sanchi, Amravati, etc.

This belief in magic is also illustrated by the representation of ritualistic human sacrifice on the well-known Harappa seal of the Earth-goddess. The practice of human sacrifice for promoting fertility is an old and familiar practice and its basic idea is belief in the potency of human blood, ritualistically shed, to increase the fertility of the earth. The scenes depicted on the obverse and reverse of the seal bring out the idea more fully and clearly than any other find of sacred import in the Indus Valley.

THE YOGIC POSTURE

The Yogic posture is a subject of such importance in the interpretation of the Indus religion that attention may be drawn again to its implications.

It has been observed that the yogic posture is valueless as an argument for identifying the three-faced Indus male deity. It has also been observed that asceticism is a trait acquired by Rudra-Siva in the Epic period. But the idea of yoga is much earlier than the Epic and may be traced back to the R̥gveda. The unmistakable yogic attitude of the Indus deity proves that the idea of yoga was known to the Indus people. It may therefore be assumed that there was an independent cult of yoga just as there was an independent cult of the phallus. It is very significant that both these cults came to be affiliated to the R̥gvedic cult of Rudra-Siva in the Epic period. The connecting link between the Indus deity in yogic posture and the ascetic Rudra-Siva of the Mahabharata is to be found as has been suggested by Ramaprasad Chanda in the Vratya of the Atharvaveda (XV) and the Yati of the R̥gveda (VIII. 6.8 ; see also X 136.3.5). They were, according to him, two classes of non-Brahmin magician priests in the Vedic and proto-historic period. (Chanda, Memoir A.S.I. No. 41, p. 32). From their descriptions in the early literature it would appear that they practised *dhyana yoga*. "Like the Vedic sacrifices and penances *dhyana yoga* was probably originally practised as a means of gaining worldly objects and miraculous powers. (*Ibid.*, p. 29.) He recognises in a group of stone statuettes found at Mohenjo Daro in a mutilated condition (A.R.A.S.I. for 1926-27-Pl. XIX) the images of the yatis of the proto-historic and pre-historic Indus Valley intended either for worship or as votive offerings (Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 33) and thinks that they supply the missing link between the pre-historic and historic civilisation of India. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.) Chanda adds that *dhyana yoga* as a means for attaining miraculous powers underwent a transformation with the growth of the belief in transmigration and became a means for attaining perfect knowledge (*Ibid.*).

In order to prove his thesis that the Mohenjo Daro stone statuettes in yogic posture represented the *yatis* Chanda refers at length to the legend of the destruction of the *yatis* by Indra and suggests that they had probably incurred the displeasure of the god because they were priests of non-Vedic rites practised by the indigenous pre-Aryan population of the Indus Valley. (*Ibid.*, p. 33.) On Chanda's suggestion the following observations may be made: We should take into consideration not only the mutilated Mohenjo Daro stone statuettes but also the seals representing deities in yogic posture. It has been said that the posture of the images carved in the seals recall dhyani Buddha images. The earliest representation of the cross-legged representation is probably to be found at Sanchi. This type has been copied with

modifications in mediaeval Indian art in the images of Siva (and Visnu-Narayana) in certain poses. The yogic posture is the common feature in the representations of three-faced and one-faced deities and it appears to be the symbol of divinity, and not a symbol of priesthood. In spite of the gap which separates these Indus images and the earliest known Buddha and Jaina images it is found that the idea of *dhyana yoga* which finds expression in art in the Indus Valley is substantially repeated in the Buddhist and Jaina art and it is copied by the Hindu artists. This would establish a more direct transmission of ideas from the Indus religion to Buddhism and Jainism to a certain extent. The recognition in the R̥gveda of the power of *tapas* as distinguished from the merely magical power possessed in common by the Devas, Dasyus and Yātudhanis shows that the intermediate link between the Indus and the historic period in the development of the cult of yoga is furnished by the R̥gveda.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

We may conclude our survey of the elements in the religion of the Indus people with a short note on the methods of disposal of the dead practised by them. Something has already been said about the subject.

There were three methods of disposal of the dead among the Indus people : cremation, complete burial and post-cremation fractional burial in earthen jar or in small brick structure (urn burial and earth burial). Cremation according to Marshall was the usual method while complete burial and fractional burial were exceptional. It has been said, "The usual method of disposing of the dead in the latest cities of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa was by cremation, a few fragments of the burnt bones being subsequently collected and placed in a large earthen jar along with a number of medium-sized and miniature vessels or in small brick structures resembling Hindu *samadhis*." (A.R.A.S.I. for 1924-25, p. 62, Pl. XXIVa). The incinerary urns are sometimes painted and besides fragments of burnt human bones, mixed with ashes and earth, bowls, cups, dishes, flasks, stone pestles, personal ornaments and weapons (copper spear-head, axe head etc.) have been found in them. (A.S.I. Memoir No. 43 pp. 93, 96.) Stein notes that the practice of placing ashes and remains of bones from completely cremated bodies in cinerary is different from the custom of leaving remains of partially burned corpses deposited together with personal relics at the place of cremation and this latter practice "may very well mark a step towards complete interment such as is

found at the later burials on the top of the Shahi-tump mound at the burial ground explored by Mr. Hargreaves at Nal." (*Ibid.*, p. 163.) Examples of complete interment at Shahi-tump and Nal show dead body buried in embryonic position "with the legs bent at the knees and the hands jointly raised to the chin. The body lay with the head towards the west." (*Ibid.*, p. 93.) Besides burial structures of brick bones have been discovered in graves formed in the solid brickworks of the walls or beneath the threshold of doors. The custom of burying the dead body in a sitting posture is prevalent among some sections of the people in India. (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 359.) There are references to cremation and interment in the R̥gveda (X. 15. 4). Fractional burial—both urn burial and earth burial—is referred to in the same text (X. 18. 10-13). In the case of earth burial a pile was erected with bricks or stones over the grave. The mound was either four cornered or round. (For refs. see Chanda, A.S.I. Memoir No. 31). Referring to the Vedic modes of urn burial and earth burial Chanda writes that the funeral customs of the Vedic people prove contact of different cultures in the Indus Valley. (*Ibid.*, p. 9.) Instances of the Indus modes of fractional burial which so closely resemble the Vedic modes, recall the Buddhist practice of depositing the relics of notable persons within stupas built over them which are a development of the earth or brick mounds built over graves, and the widespread primitive custom of erecting stone circles, cairns, etc. over graves. That structures like the modern Hindu *samadhi* should be found in the Indus Valley and the Indus modes of burial should be popular among the Vedic people and should be followed by the early Buddhists would go to prove that there was no break in the continuity of the Indus culture. Fractional burial in the Indus Valley has been attributed to the presence of a foreign element among the Indus people. The prominence given to the practice in the Vedic literature would prove that this element was none other than the Vedic Aryans.

SUMMARY

Our investigation into the ethnic composition of the Indus people has shown that according to the findings of anthropologists there were two racial elements well represented among the Indus people,

e.g., a brachycephalic leptorrhine race and a dolichoïd leptorrhine race. These two early Indus types form the major racial constituents of the Indian people in the Indo-Gangetic plains and in the Western littoral according to anthropologists. In other words, two principal racial elements in the population of India may be traced back to the Indus period.

Both these early races in the Indus Valley had "Aryan" affinities. There is first the brachycephalic leptorrhine race affiliated to the great belt of Aryan-speaking brachycephals in the Western plateaux, in the Pamirs and in the Tarim Basin. Its special affinities were with the Irano-Pamirian race. Linguistically and culturally, therefore, this race was "Aryan". So we have a brachycephalic, leptorrhine race in Chalcolithic times in the Indus Valley of Aryan speech and Aryan culture, long before the R̥gvedic Aryan who are credited with the introduction of Aryan speech and culture into India. The well-known Iranian affinities of the R̥gvedic Aryans raise the question whether this early brachycephalic Indus race and the later R̥gvedic Aryans might not have been allied or identical. As regards the Indus dolichoïd leptorrhine race, its "Aryan" affinities are based on the assumption that its affiliation is with the Aryan-speaking dolichocephalic races in the distant Eurasiatic steppe lands. But with the evidence of the early presence of the dolichoïd leptorrhine race in the Indus Valley its affiliation with the Northern steppesfolk can be suggested only by upsetting the generally accepted time table of European scholars regarding the dispersal of the Aryan folk, more particularly their Eastern branch, from their northern home. If the R̥gvedic Aryans were dolichocephalic, a theory for which no evidence worth the name has yet been discovered, the findings of anthropologists referred to above show that they were preceded long ago by a race or races akin to them. Be that as it may, if the Aryan affinities of the Indus dolichocephalic race are accepted it would follow that among the mixed Indus people there were two "Aryan" elements—one brachycephalic and the other dolichocephalic. It may be added that one would expect similar admixture of different racial elements also among the R̥gvedic Aryans.

If our investigation into the ethnic composition of the Indus people reveals the presence of two "Aryan" elements among them and survival of these two major racial types in the present population of India our examination of the elements of the religion of the Indus people shows the presence of features some of which are well known

to the Vedic religion and the survival of nearly all the important features to the present day. Our survey shows little affinity in respect of essential points with the Mesopotamian religion or the pre-historic religions of Western Asia. Foreign parallels there may be and have been cited in respect of some of the elements of the Indus religion but foreign analogies on which Marshall has based much of his interpretation of the Indus religion cannot be used, in the absence of other data, as serious argument for proving relationship or borrowing. Attention should be drawn to the very striking correspondence which nearly all the essential features of the Indus religion show with later Indian religious conceptions. Some of these features occur in the Vedic religion, others in Buddhism and Jainism and others, again, in the Epic religion.

Reference may be made to some of these essential points.

Representations of the two types of male deities in yogic attitude, the throne or pedestal on which they are seated, association of animals with them recall early Buddha and Jina images in meditative attitude. Similarly, the style of wearing the upper garment in the Mohenjo Daro statuettes is seen in many Buddha images (A.S.I. Memoir 41, p. 34). Tree worship in two forms is analogous to some forms of tree worship illustrated in Buddhist religious art. Regarding the nude female figure between trees (M.I.C. Vol. I, Pl. XII, 18) it is interesting to note the same device in several early coins, *e.g.* some of the coins of Maues (Maisey, *Sanchi*, etc. Pl. XXXIX, 28, 29). The association of animals with tree worship recalls Buddhist tradition and early Buddhist religious art. (Cp. representation of elephant doing homage to the Fig tree *Stupa of Bharhut*, Pl. XXX Fig. 3 ; XV Fig. 8). The worship of the Fig tree and the mode of representing it as an object of worship are strikingly similar to the same in Buddhism. The therianthropic beasts recall Buddhist religious art and so does the Harappa find of a two-faced lion on a pedestal. (Cp. Fergusson, *Sanchi*, I VIII : Cunningham, *Bharhut*, Pl. XXI, Fig. 3). The representation of the snake as a votary of the deity in yogic posture strikingly recalls certain representations in Buddhist art of the Buddha being worshipped by Naga. The swastika, disc or cakra, lotus and trident, familiar in the Indus religious art, are prominent also in the Buddhist and Jaina religious art. The Indus obelisk, probably a votive offering, recalls the familiar use of pillars as votive offerings in Buddhist sacred buildings. Representations of animals taking part in rituals recall several Sanchi, Bharhut and Amravati sculptures. A Sanchi sculpture represents two monkeys as principal votaries carrying offerings to a sacred tree,

followed by human votaries. (Fergusson, *Sanchi*, Pl. XXVI.) The deer frequently appears in scenes of worship. (*Ibid.*, Pl. LXXI.) The garlanded bull regarded as a sacred or cult object came to be recognised in the Epic as the emblem of Rudra-Siva. This transformation of the Indus bull had taken place early as is shown by the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings. In the reverse of the Harappa seal (Pl. XCIII, 303) there is a bull near a trident headed staff and a human figure standing holding, according to Dr. Banerjee, a long staff and a water vessel like object, and he adds that this is reminiscent of figures on certain punch marked coins. Trident, trident-headed staff and trident surmounted on pillars are familiar objects in early Buddhist sculptures. In the early Indo-Scythian coins the trident is a Saiva symbol. The water vessel is an important object in Buddhist legends and sometimes occur in early sculptures (Maisey, *Sanchi*, etc. p. 225). The so-called horns on the heads of many Indus figures are somewhat like combined disc and crescent symbols of the Buddhist sculptures. They resemble three-pointed head-dresses in some of the figures in Sanchi sculptures. (Cp. Fergusson, *Sanchi*, Pls. XXVI, XXXVI, crescent-shaped head-dress with the central point like a fan or betel; Pl. LXXII, Fig. I; trident symbol on head-dress. (Maisey, *Sanchi*, Pl. XXII.) The detached phallus-like objects specimens of which have been found in the Indus Valley, came to be regarded as an emblem of Rudra-Siva in the Epic. Representations of composite animals in the Indus Valley recall early Buddhist sculptures showing monsters half lion and half dog, alligator with fish tail, half lion and half fish, griffins, winged lions, centaurs, etc. at Sanchi, Amravati, Bharhut, etc. (Fergusson, *Sanchi*, Pls. XXIX, XXIV; Amravati, Pl. LVII). Half man and half animal Indus figure recall human-faced rams, one horned human-faced lions, etc. (Fergusson, *Sanchi*, Pl. VIII; Cunningham, *Bharhut*, Pl. XXI Fig. 3). The seal of the nude tree-goddess (M.I.C. I, Pl. XII 18) shows at the bottom seven figures dressed in short kilt and wearing long pigtails. The figures are identified as those of votaries or ministrants. Pl. XXIV Fig. I (Fergusson, *Sanchi*) shows 8 figures of votaries in a Naga temple dressed in short kilt, cloak, with pointed cap like head-dress and with long pointed beards. Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 5 show women dressed in short kilt. There are other sculptures with figures dressed in kilt with peculiar modes of doing their hair, sometimes twisted into long plaits and hanging on the back like pigtails or chignons of enormous size looking like pigtails in female figures. Votaries in cult scenes, laymen, musicians in procession, soldiers, etc. appear dressed in kilt. Cult scenes, mythological scenes, hunting

scenes, etc. in Indus seals and sealings are common to early Buddhist sculptures in sacred buildings.

The resemblance between the Indus engravings and early Buddhist sculptures is so frequent and so striking at times that Marshall is led again and again to refer to the parallelism between the two. His conclusion does not however touch the essential point. He writes, "When we find, as we do, that most of the elements which make up this pre-historic religion—so far as we can at present analyse them, are perpetuated in later Hinduism, we are justified in inferring that much of the zoology which characterises Hinduism and which is demonstrably non-Aryan, is also derived from the pre-historic age". (M.I.C., Vol. I, p. 73.) He admits that most of the elements of the Indus religion survive in Hinduism. This means that there is continuity of culture. It goes without saying that continuity of culture means the continuity of races carrying on this culture. We have seen above that some of the elements of the Indus religion, *e.g.*, worship of the Fig tree, use symbols, the idea of the sanctity of animals (nearly all the male deities in the R̥gveda are provided with animal vahānas, which disproves Marshall's theory that zoology is non-Aryan); notion of magical power acquired by asceticism, etc. occur in the Vedic religion; we have seen further that most of the elements of the Indus religion together with the characteristic modes of expression in art of many religious ideas occur in Buddhism; and lastly we have seen that in the Epic period some of the elements of this pre-historic religion appear modified by new accretions in the Hindu religion. In other words, the traditions of the Indus religion are partly represented in the Vedic religion, mainly in Buddhism and fully in Hinduism. Can we come to the conclusion from the above that the people responsible for the Indus religion are chiefly represented by those among whom Buddhism flourished? In view of the results of our investigation into the ethnic composition of the Indus people there is little justification for characterising the Indus religion as pre-Aryan or non-Aryan. Firstly, there were Aryan-speaking elements among the Indus people. One of these elements was brachycephalic, which, somewhat hybridised, still occupy the approaches to India from Western Asia and Central Asia. Secondly, the common Iranian affinities of this race and of the Vedic Aryans might be due to both being of the same ethnic stock or being racially akin. Thirdly, apart from the evidence of religion the fractional earth and urn burial practised by the Indus people is of such importance in the Vedic texts that cultural

affinity between the two peoples appears to be fully established. Now if the brachycephalic races among the Indus people were principally responsible for the Indus religion we would expect to find Buddhism flourishing among brachycephalic races in India.

It is not proposed to enter here into a discussion of this interesting question, but it may be casually observed that Buddhism rose in Eastern India, a brachycephalic area.

(Concluded)

INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON JAPANESE CULTURE*

PROF. RYUSAKU TSUNODA,

Columbia University, New York

Dr. Taraknath Das has done me a great honor by inviting me to appear on this platform and discuss the influence of Buddhism on Japanese culture. It is a rather large order as Buddhism has a longer history than Christianity by half a millennium and its introduction to Japan antedates St. Augustine's conversion of England by half a century. In order to make this very long story short, I shall have to limit myself to saying just a few things about Buddhism in India and China. And even my discussion of Japanese Buddhism will provide only a scanty outline of this vast subject.

The Japanese term for religion, *shūkyō*, means "the teaching of the source of value." Accepting this Japanese understanding of religion for its brevity, Buddhism may be described as the teaching that finds the source of value, not in external authority, but, in the inner light. Buddha in Sanskrit means light, the inner light. This new light came to the son of Sakya in Northern India in the sixth century B.C., and proved to be the source of value for his followers.

Buddha's new light of life is very difficult to define, and it has been the subject of multiple and varying interpretations. For myself, I have generally thought of it in terms of three L's. The light of life comes from three L's: Love, Law, and Labour; that is, Buddha's profound Love of suffering humanity, his teaching of the enlightened Law, and his untiring Labor to save mankind. Because of this new light that came from the three L's, he came to be known as Buddha, perfect in intelligence and behavior, perfect in compassion and wisdom.

It is interesting to note that the new light came to Buddha, not as a revelation from a supreme authority but as a discovery resulting

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from his own personal experience, from a series of long experiments carried on in the bosom of nature and attended by errors and failures. In this respect, Buddhism may be called the religion of radical, spiritual empiricism. As the light was a light reached through radical empiricism, Buddha's law is characterized by an absence of finality.

What is known among Buddhists as the three marks of Buddhism is very revealing in this connection. The first is, *Anityah sarvā samskarah*, everything, including law, is impermanent, is subject to change, to revision, to amendment. The second is *Niratmanah sarva dharmah*, all law should be impartial, non-arbitrary. The third is *Santam nirvanam*, peace is the ultimate end. With love for suffering humanity as its original impulse and peace as its ultimate end, the law which Buddha taught remained flexible and adaptable. As one of the sutras has it, "Buddha's response varied as does that of a great bell. The harder the stroke, the deeper the sound."

The new light of life that consisted of the three L's attracted wide attention and in Buddha's own time, the *sangha*, a new religious order with strict discipline, consisting of members pledged to a life of poverty, sobriety, and celibacy, came into being. And in the course of time both native rulers and alien monarchs vied with each other in lavishing their patronage upon this order, opening cave-temples, erecting monuments, and despatching missionaries in all directions. The epic of the triumphal transcontinental and overseas march of Buddhism, meeting on the way the diverse cultures of West and East, will not be recited here. By the time Buddhism reached Japan in the middle of the sixth century, first by way of Korea and then by way of China, it had grown to the stature of a world religion, indeed, the first world religion, with monumental objects of worship, with an accumulation of holy literature in many languages and dialects, and with the concerted efforts of an organized order to support it. The Buddhas in the pantheon, the law contained in scriptures, and the fraternity of monks and nuns were known as the Three Treasures of Buddhism.

As to the doctrine of Buddhism, because of its non-final character, it kept on growing in many divergent ways. In India it is recorded that more than eighteen different schools of thought existed and in China fifteen sects appeared one after the other. Concerning them, three things call for special attention. One is the development of a peculiar form of logic all its own, the dialectics by the use of negation ascribed to Nagarjuna (c.150-250) and Kumarajiva (384-414). All propositions, it says, should be subjected to eightfold negation. Survival under such rigid examination is the only test of truth, it says. This

logic of negation was to be the spearhead of Buddhism in its phenomenal advance among alien cultures. The second feature is the emergence of a psychology of unconsciousness associated with Vasubandhu (420-500) and Hsüan Tsung (601-664). This psychology of unconsciousness, with seven other mental realms leading to it, was a revelation of the innermost workings of the human mind, hitherto unexplored. *Vijnapti matrata siddhi*: only psychology can help in leading to the new light. Finally there is the metaphysics of beatitude presented in such Mahayana sutras as the *Saddharmapundarika* and *Mahāvaiṣṇava-Buddha-avatamsaka*. Here both the lotus flower and the flower garland are the symbols of Buddha's beatitude on earth. Three principles underlie the metaphysics of beatitude. First is that of relativity, second is that of complementarity, and third that of convertibility. According to the new light, all things in the universe are relative, are related with each other as are all the drops in the ocean; they are also complementary, complementing each other as all petals of a flower do; and they are also convertible, converting themselves from time to time as do so many flowers into so many fruits. This metaphysics goes on to say that where relativity, complementarity, and convertibility are the law of existence, there is unity in variety and variety in unity. •

These speculative innovations in Buddhist thought, abstract and abstruse as they appear, are interesting, it seems to me, as they represent not only the most remarkable development of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism at the time Buddhism was brought over to Japan, but also the general direction of Buddhist activities throughout the formative period of Japanese culture. They also suggest certain basic differences in Buddhist thought from the Chinese orthodoxy, known as *Yin-yang Tao* or Heaven's Way, with which Buddhism had to contend in Japan for official favor. It is to be noted that the contention of these two ideologies, different in origin and diametrically opposed in character, forms the most exciting chapter in the ancient history of Japan, being comparable in significance, if not in scope, to even the conflict of divergent ideologies in contemporary international politics.

The doctrine of Heaven's Way, also known as Han Confucianism since it achieved the status of an official orthodoxy during the Han dynasty, was an enormous system of totalitarian naturalism, with Heaven's mandate as its core. Heaven with its celestial family, the sun, the moon, and the five stars, moves with mathematical precision and regularity. It is the primal source of all authority and the everlasting basis of all order. The sovereign is a sovereign because of Heaven, and governments are ordained to rule by Heaven's will.

Earth, on the other hand, is the receiver and transmitter of Heaven's order. Since men are born between Heaven and Earth, every one of them has his fortune and destiny prescribed by Heaven's will.

During the formative period of Japanese civilization, the most outstanding development was the attempt to organize a Central Government on the basis of law, with these two opposing ideologies both contributing to the outcome. Whereas the Chinese system stood for established law and order that admits of no deviation or departure, Buddhism with its dialectics of negation always favored change for the better in all aspects of life. Existing law and order are not necessarily to be accepted, but are to be tested through a process of manifold negation. The source of all authority and order, according to Chinese orthodoxy, comes from Heaven's will; but in Buddhism the only authority is the inner light of man, which had been the subject of much of their psychological study. For the former, Heaven is everything; for the latter, the inner light is everything, since it is what makes a man a Buddha. Lastly, to the Chinese way of thinking, since Heaven is the everlasting model of law and order, the nearest thing on earth to Heaven is the government of a sovereign ruling with calendar-like regularity. But for Buddhists, paradise or heaven can be found wherever and whenever relativity, complementarity, and convertibility are seen to rule the universe.

"I am not so certain if the first logic, the first psychology, and the first metaphysics which the Japanese received as gifts in those early formative days were understood and appreciated by them in their proper light. There is scarcely no doubt, however, that Buddha's teaching created a profound and lasting impression by the concrete, colorful, tangible form of Buddhism in the Three Treasures mentioned elsewhere. The Constitution of 604 says, "Reverence sincerely the Three Treasures—Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood—for these are the final refuge of the four beings and the supreme objects of faith in all countries. What man in what age can fail to revere this law?"

In order to install the Three Treasures, a new center had to be established and the Buddhists built this center. To say the least, the architecture was at once a marvel, a wonder, for the Japanese of that period. For at that time, the Japanese, living as they did in houses built of poles and bamboos with straw thatch, were interested only in building mounds with subterranean chambers for their departed parents. According to the continental standard of Buddhist architecture, a temple had to have six main buildings in a compound surrounded by a corridor with a gate. The tallest and most elaborate building was

the stupa in the form of a pagoda, five or seven stories high, identifying these precincts as the Buddha land. Close by, in the center of the compound, stood the Golden Hall, in which were installed the objects of worship, usually a triad with an image of Buddha attended by two Bodhisattvas on the altar. A Lecture Hall, comparable in size, stood behind it as the place for preaching Buddha's law. Again, standing behind them and comparable in size, was a Dormitory, or Dining Hall, with a spacious bathroom in order to accommodate the Brotherhood. A Repository of Buddhist literature and a Bell-tower complete the whole scheme. It is a complex and compound architecture but all with one single spiritual purpose. The continental magnitude and exotic decoration of the temple, inside and out, created for the islanders of Japan a vision of the other world, a land of beatitude on earth for the first time. A completely new way of life was thus instituted in a tangible and enduring form. Hôryûji Temple, built by Prince Shôtoku and standing even today in the outskirts of the ancient capital of Nara, is its oldest and finest example. The feeling of wonder and admiration inspired by these temples was contagious. Successive Emperors and Empresses went on building one temple after another. At one time, the little province of Yamato had more than two hundred temples. Even today, there stand in the ancient capital of Nara, seven great temples of historic importance. Thus, an entirely new chapter in the history of Japanese architecture opens with the domestication of Buddhism in the country.

A little closer acquaintance with the new institution would have revealed still another wonder—silent occupants of the buildings. Carved of metal, lacquer, or wood, these icons and images; sitting or standing erect, outlandish as they may have appeared, were embodiments of Buddha's attainments in multiple forms, preaching the law of love and peace, inaudibly but nonetheless persuasively. Even the statue of a priest is inspiring. Take for instance the great Chinese Vinaya Master, Ganjin, who was invited by Emperor Shômu to come to Japan to preside at the dedication of the Great Image. He arrived one year too late. For ten years, his efforts to cross the sea were frustrated by pirates, storms, and shipwrecks, and he did not succeed until his sixth attempt, by which time he had become blind. The gently closed eyelids, the lips barely touching, and the unassuming naturalness of the whole pose bring out the beauty of the profound faith that had overcome untold suffering. Without exception, all the statues tell the story of insight, deep piety, and steadfast purpose.

But the most stupendous undertaking in the field of sculpture was

the erection of the Great Image of the Cosmic Buddha, 53½ feet high in a sitting posture, its head 17 feet long and 9½ feet wide. It was an imperial undertaking and from the day of its conception to its completion, it took nearly twelve years, using, among other things, 7,39,500 pounds of refined copper, 12,618 pounds of white silver, 14,146 *ryô* of alloyed gold and 58,620 *ryô* of mercury. Even before its completion, the sovereign of Japan came out with his Empress and paid homage in prostration, calling themselves the servants of the Three Treasures. Thus, Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood were upheld before the public as more lofty than the Son of Heaven. The symbol of unity in variety, Rosana sat serene, reigning as the supreme lord of love and peace. As in architecture, so in sculpture, the art entered a completely new stage.

May I note that here is the true explanation of the penchant for exoticism so remarkable in Japanese culture. The Japanese were primarily immigrants with diverse homelands beyond the water and in the direction of the setting sun. But Korea became her perennial rival and united China was always too great and strong for comfort. India was so far away, however, and Buddhism with its architecture and sculpture with the light of Buddha in the center was a perennial incentive for the penchant for exoticism, the admiration of the country and civilization other than their own. Singular to relate, this love of things alien was more conspicuous among womenfolk, imperial consorts and royal princesses leading the way. And it did not end with the period. There is a poem written by the most beautiful empress of the following generation :—

On Buddha's mount in yonder distant land float clouds

'Tis the incense I burn on the altar here.

The clouds that rise

Over the far off Buddha land mountains,

I'm sure they come from the smoke

Of my incense burning here.

The poem is interesting because it indicates the awareness of the great law of causality that prevailed across the nation's boundary and, at the same time, expresses the fervent love for the Buddha land yonder.

The erection of the Supreme Buddha signaled a momentous success for Buddhism in its venture in Japan and in 769, a monk known as King of Law was about to be elevated to the Imperial throne. However, this plan for a Dharma King had to be abandoned because of a concerted move on the part of conservatives headed by the Fujiwaras which turned the political tide against Buddhism.

The transfer of the political center from Nara to the new capital of Kyôto brings in a new chapter in Japanese history, also a new form of Buddhism known as Esoteric Buddhism. This new Buddhism was thoroughly syncretic in character; a fusion of Brahminism and Buddhism from its inception in Buddha's homeland, India; a fusing of Buddhism and Taoistic Confucianism in China; and in Japan, it was destined to be fused with the native cults of Shintô. Instead of being pantheistic, it was cosmotheistic with a new emphasis on things beautiful. "What is natural is spiritual and what is spiritual is beautiful," is the succinct statement of its syncretic position. Mind and matter, flesh and soul, nature and spirit are accepted on the assumption that their superb combination and happy co-existence create beatitude in a life of esoteric beauty. The first propounder of this new form of Buddhism was Kûkai, posthumously known as Kôbô Daishi, of whom Sir George Sansom says, "His memories live all over the country, his name is a household word in remotest places, not only as a saint, but a preacher, a scholar, a poet, a sculptor, a painter, an inventor, an explorer, and—sure passport to fame—a great calligrapher." He set an example by opening a religious settlement, now a sanctuary of beatitude, on the mountain top of Koya in the remote countryside of Kii. This marked the beginning of a great centrifugal or fusion movement of culture at a time when the government was congratulating itself upon its initial success in the organization of a centralized government.

Under his consummate leadership, the new Buddhism spread like wild-fire. The old Buddhist center in Nara, a newly-created rival center on Mt. Hiei, and another new center on the banks of Lake Biwa were brought under the sway of this new cult. All inclusive in character, with a beautiful justification for everything on earth, this aesthetic cosmotheism caught even the fancy of the flowering imperial court which at first had been rather Chinese in its ideological inclination. In the course of time, a Son of Heaven resigned his throne and took refuge in Buddha's Law, accepting for himself the title of Dharma Emperor. This time, his example was followed by succeeding emperors, creating in Japanese history, a period known as the reign of the Cloistered Emperors. Fujiwara ministers also followed suit, taking the tonsure while serving in the State Council.

In the cultural field, as in the political, the influence of the new Buddhism was paramount. Most remarkable and far reaching in their effect were the introduction of painting and the evolution of the Japanese syllabary, together with the development of a native literature. In

all these cultural fields, may I call your attention again to the fact that Kūkai was the master par excellence. The Buddhist painting Kūkai brought home from China led the way for the new movement though his interest in painting was more educational than artistic. Kūkai's "Lists of Importations" says that "the inner meaning of the esoteric doctrine is difficult to put down in words, but by the use of paintings and statues, it can be explained so that it will be comprehended." The paintings he brought home were known as Mandala, consisting of two parts, Garbha and Vajra, each containing more than four hundred iconographic figures. They were primarily the symbols of an intricate doctrine rather than pure works of art. But the new Buddhism was so popular and the demand for copies of the Mandala, either in full or in part, became so heavy that numerous art centres were established with the monopoly on the dispensing of the secret formulas, rare techniques, and special accoutrements of the esoteric cult. It may be noted that when Buddhism left its native country for foreign lands, where its native language was not in use, the newly acquired iconography was indispensable to missionary work. So in ancient Japan where the people were still without their own script, painting served in the role of a universal language.

With this newly acquired art, they went about decorating Buddha's abode in the countryside, mountains, lakesides, river banks, and seashores. Sometimes an entire mountain range was singled out as the sanctuary of beatitude, and sometimes an island was made into a Mecca of pious pilgrimage. Thus, religion and art joined together in the adoration of nature. May I add that this adoration of nature became dual when Esoteric Buddhism came to embrace the native Shintô in its fold. Nature became doubly adorable because of the presence of both Buddha and Shintô Gods. It was a case of noumenon being phenomenon and phenomenon being noumenon.

While painting was playing the part of a universal language in the propagation of the new Buddhism, attempts were being made in more than one Buddhist center to develop a simpler script for literary and public use, and Kūkai again was the reputed inventor of the more artistic type of syllabary known as Hiragana. Recent careful research has indicated, however, that the development of the syllabaries known as Katakana and Hiragana, was not the work of a single individual. Still, there is no disputing the fact that in this development, Buddhists as a whole had more to do with it than any other single group of men, and in truth, they were more in need of it for purposes of study and

teaching. The oldest Japanese dictionary extant in Japan was the work of the priest, Shōju (892).

While attempting to evolve a new syllabary, Buddhists were also busy creating a new type of popular literature to reach an ever-widening circle of men and women. It is well known that in this field, courtiers and court ladies showed great interest and also made sizable contributions to its development. But most of the tales that came from their hands were so smooth and soft that they now seem flat and insipid. The Tale of Genji rendered into English by Arthur Waley is an outstanding exception because it has something more to tell than court gossip, and a careful reading of this great work reveals that it has the doctrine of retribution, or Karma, as its main theme. The hero of the story, an imperial prince who fell in love with one of his father's consorts because of her remarkable resemblance to his departed mother, later had to witness his young wife committing similar misconduct with a prince of younger generation. The Tale is again Buddhistic in asserting that all men are prone to make mistakes and only Buddha's all-embracing love can save them. Thus, in the flowering period of Japanese culture, it was Buddhism that helped develop painting and native literature with its simple form of syllabary to their historical stature. The adoration of nature which is so prominent in Japanese culture also derived its new impetus from this aesthetic cosmotheism.

With the downfall of the aristocracy that ruled Japan for more than three centuries, the warring clans arose to contend for power and in this new period of Japanese history, warfare became the order of the day with one clan after another rising and falling in rapid succession. Throughout another three centuries, even in brief moments of intermittent truce, the country presented a gloomy spectacle, an enormous graveyard where the ghosts of men and women lingered behind, held by envy, jealousy, and insatiable passion, whispering their love and crying out their despair, only to vanish with the crowing of the cock, and leaving nothing behind them except embering sulphur. Stark pessimism prevailed, and in the field of religion vehement protests against the entrenched order rang out like the battle cries of warring clans. There were protests in the name of the moral dignity of men, and out of this arose Puritanic Zen; there were protests, too, in the name of true pietism, with profound faith in the life hereafter, and the outcome was the swelling tide of Jōdoism. Still another protest was made in behalf of loyalty and patriotism, aiming at the unity of State and Church; Nichirenism was its champion. The fact to be remembered

about medieval Japan is the perpetual presence of death in life. Death was more real, more actual than life itself. In this connection, it will be helpful to know the different interpretations of this perennial problem of humanity. What is death? There are three answers by three Buddhist schools. Zen Buddhism's answer is the most straightforward. Life is a series of life and death. Men are dying everyday, every minute. Only fools fail to realize this truth. Jôdo Buddhism's answer is entirely different. For it, death means rebirth, a new birth into the Buddha land. The Nichirenites' answer to this question is, death is an opportunity for heroism, a challenge to immortality. Only through death can man rise higher than himself. Be a Zen-ist, or a Jôdoist or a Nichirenite as you will. The cardinal truth is the perpetual presence of human tragedy in life.

Two literary masterpieces of the time, the Tale of Heike and the Tale of Great Peace, capture the aching heart of the time because of their awareness of tragedy. In them the Buddhist truth of human suffering found eloquent articulation. Making the most of human anxiety and emotional need, Buddhists had recourse to a new method of vocal music, bringing Buddha's light and love home to the people at large. This took the form of recitation of heart-rending and heart-thrilling chapters from these Tales, with the accompaniment of a stringed instrument called the *biwa*. The mushroom growth of chanters' schools in a short time attests to the popularity of this new form of expression. Eighty schools were registered at one time for this purpose. In some cases one man, both chanting and playing the either accompaniment, went about the country and penetrated remote regions unvisited by others. Thus, the awareness and appreciation of human tragedy found expression in the enjoyment of tears, a characteristic features of Japanese popular art to this day. Needless to repeat, it was this keen awareness and profound appreciation of human tragedy that brought medieval music and dramatic literature to greater heights of popularity than had ever been known before.

But Buddhists were not content with their easy triumphs in the realm of religious music. On the basis of this new vocal music, they developed a new dramatic production which came to be known as the Nô play, very popular not only among the Japanese but also among Western students of Japanese culture. Such well known writers as Arthur Waley, and also the eminent historian, Sir George Sansom, our colleague here, have made a number of translations of these plays. Three artists who shared the name of the Buddha of Mercy, Kanzeon (that is, Kan-ami, Ze-ami, and On-ami), did more than anyone else

to make the Nô play what it is. For them, this world of ours is a grave-yard, as was already pointed out, where men and women appear and disappear like ghosts, because of their past karma, but in the end are saved by the Buddha. This performance is done chiefly by two players, with a scanty orchestra of drums and flutes in the background. The stage looks somber, lonely, weird. According to Ze-ami, the accomplished Nô artist needs three things. He must have delicate sensitivity, something like a trickling stream, to start with; then a combination of wide range like the ocean, with steadfastness, like the mountain; and finally a vision of beauty, like the scene of a glorious setting sun. These three basic talents must be supported by three others; the physical agility of a woodchuck, the fearless audacity of a young tiger, and the single-minded concentration of a swordsmith hammering a blade on the anvil. But above all these, a truly consummate artist must achieve the serenity of snow in a silver cup, as the dynamism of art always matures into staticism. Still further, there is such a thing as the depth of art in addition to its height. "There is a limit to the height of Mt. Fuji, they say, " but none to its depth." And in the end art will culminate in mystery—the mystery of the rising of the sun in the dead of night. Art makes the impossible possible, just as Buddha brought the splendor of light into the abyss of darkness. With such consummate art in full swing on the stage, the drama of the lost soul, as the Nô play was sometimes called, taught the audience the great truth of Sunyata, as nothing else could. "A man is a man," they began to say, "only when he becomes aware of the human tragedy and its true significance."

In the last of the historical periods, Buddhism was a somewhat uneasy spectator, as new systems of religion and thought came into Japan. Catholicism arrived in Japan by the middle of the sixteenth century and advanced rapidly, somewhat threatening Buddhism. Neo-Confucianism came in and was adopted as the official doctrine for public education of the gentry. Western scientific studies also began to make their influence felt in the field of astronomy, geography, navigation, medicine, and national defence. Buddhism, hard pressed on all sides, was quite often humiliated, being publicly denounced as a teaching good only for women and children. But in these unfavourable circumstances it became all the more active among the people. First Buddhism took upon its shoulders the elementary education of the unprivileged classes of the nation, opening schools to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic throughout the country. A rather unusual literacy among the common folk of the country, which made possible the phenomenal

increase of literary publications even in feudal times, was due mainly to the Buddhists' efforts. Another singularly interesting contribution on the part of Buddhists was the promotion of the shortest form of poetry as a popular pastime. Brought into vogue chiefly through the devout and indefatigable toil of a Zen disciple by the name of Bashô (1644-1694), poetry was condensed to a form anyone could handle, with a free choice of subject and free use of the vernacular. In this way it was made accessible to men and women from all walks of life. Thus, in that undemocratic age, politically speaking, there came into existence what has often been called a democracy of poetry. Among these poems, some are of a high standard and others are very poor, just as in the case of the chosen representatives of any democratic country.

Now, I have come to the end of my story. I may note before finishing, one failure of Buddhism during its long sojourn in Japan. It failed to impress the Japanese with the need for the ascetic discipline of the monastic order. Beside the numerous rules and regulations ascribed to the founder of the order, there seem to be three essential rules upon which the monastic orders of Buddhism stand. These are the rules of poverty, sobriety, and celibacy. Buddhist monks should not own property, should not drink intoxicants, should not marry. As to the first vow of poverty, I may say that the Japanese lived up to it in a most laudable fashion, though I cannot say whether or not they were wholly contented with the poverty they have had to endure. But as to the second vow of sobriety, the Japanese were known even from protohistoric times for their excessive love of drink, and no less a person than Dr. Kagawa reported that before the war, the Japanese were turning great quantities of much-needed rice into sake. As to the third rule, the vow of celibacy, Buddhism failed dismally. Among the existing thirteen Buddhist sects and denominations, the most flourishing is the school of Shinran, who seven hundred years ago denounced and defied this rule, incurring thereby the penalty of distant exile. In contemporary Japan, all sects and denominations have followed suit, removing this vow of celibacy from the book of discipline. I do not know whether this explains Japan's perennial problem of over-population. The fact remains, however, that though Buddhism, in which sobriety and celibacy form the basis of monastic discipline, has flourished in Japan, drinking and large families have been very much in evidence. There is no sign that the loss of a war has brought much change in the situation.

But after all I have said about the long history of Buddhism in Japan, I would like to return finally to the peerless son of Sakya who

is behind this history and to the inner light consisting of the three L's: Love, Law, and Labor. Love is the core of religion. Law is the basis of government. Labor is the backbone of industry. As religion, government, and industry are inseparable and equally essential to the wellbeing of civilization, so are the three L's for the peace of our life. Law without love is madness, and without labor it is a midsummer night's dream. Law without love is tyranny, and without labor it is a scrap of paper. Labor without love is servitude, without law it is warfare. Only together and in harmony will the three L's be the light of life.

JAPANESE HISTORY

Period	Government	Religion		Culture
600 800	Experiment in unified government under Yamato hegemony	Shinto inarticulate Chinese cosmology Temmon Chiri Tonko	Mahayana Buddhism Buddha, Dharma, Sangha Sunyata Vijnana Avatamsaka	Architecture Sculpture Penchant for exoticism
800 1150	The Reign of Tenus of Japan. Aristocracy under Fujiwara domination	Shinto as state and public shrine Chinese cosmology institutionalized	Esoteric Catholicism Mt. Hiei Mt. Koya Lake Biwa Rapprochement and syncretism	Japanese syllabary and native literature Painting Adoration of nature
1150 1600	Grand transition political-social Taira, Minamoto Hojo, Ashikaga Oda, Toyotomi	Agitated Shintoism The cult of Hachiman Ise Shinto Yuitsu Shinto Arrival of Catholicism	Protestantism Zen Jodo Nichiren	Epics of war in music No plays Garden, tea and flower cults Appreciation of tragedy
1600 1850	Military control in the economic age Rise of the bourgeoisie	Neo-Confucianism Exclusion of Catholicism Reorganized Shinto	Sectarianism Nara, Heian, Kamakura sects Under secular control	Popular education Popular art and literature Democracy in poetry

STUDIES IN DANIEL DEFOE

SRICHANDRA SEN

II

NEGROES AND OTHER PEOPLES

How far Defoe was able to rise above the usual sentiments and opinions of his age and breathe the atmosphere of calm reason, although passion and conflict rent the air by their vehemence, will appear in some measure when we examine his attitude towards the Negroes about whom he has written quite frequently in his long narratives, moral dialogues and satirical poems.

The Negro trade was a source of enormous profit to England. Of this an idea can be gathered from a leading article published in Houghton's 'Collection' (February 14, 1695/6) from which the following passages are quoted :

'The Spaniards treated with the Royal African Company of England for 5000 whole Pieces of India the Year for 7 Years to be delivered at some of the Islands.

'But to make this good, the Company were to ship from Africa 7000 or 8000 Pieces, out of which the Spaniards were to chuse 5000 Pieces, and the Company to dispose of the rest.

'A whole Piece of India was according to the Ages of the Negroes, Male, or Female. Those between 15 and 45, or 36, were a whole Piece ; between 4 and 8, were 2 for 1 ; between 8 and 15, or above 45 or 35, were 3 for 2, and those under 4, were cast in with the Mother.

'Now Considering the Allowances, there were to be shipped from Africa yearly 10,000 Pieces, in 7 years 70,000'.¹

Defoe was practical enough to realise that his country could hardly afford to lose such a flourishing trade. Quite sensibly, therefore, without urging its abolition, he pleaded for a more kindly treatment of the Negroes whom in 'Captain Singleton' he represents as responding gratefully to acts of kindness. Elsewhere he denounces the slave trade in unequivocal terms :

'Others seek out to *Afric's* Torrid Zone. . .

The harmless Natives basely they trepan,

¹ See also, A. S. Turberville, *English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 25 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926).

And barter Baubles for the *Souls of Men*;
 The Wretches they to Christian Climes bring o'er
 To serve worse Heathens than they did before.
 The Cruelties they suffer there are such
Amboyne's nothing, the've out-donè the *Dutch* :

To more than Spanish cruelty inclined
 Torment the Body and Debauch'd the Mind :
 The lingering Life of Slavery preserve,
 And vilely teach them both to sin and serve'.¹

He made Quaker William remark in 'Colonel Singleton', '... the Negroes had really the highest Injustice done them to be sold for Slaves without their Consent'.² But even if Defoe felt this to be wrong, he was ready to accept a kind treatment of the slaves as right from the human point of view and as good policy instead of insisting on more drastic measures guaranteeing their full human rights. Defoe pays tribute not only to the courtesy of the savages, their sense of gratitude, filial affection and devotion to their masters when the latter are just and kind but also to their looks. Of some of their women, he tells us that 'they were well favour'd agreeable persons, both in Shape and Features, only tawny, and two of them, had they been perfect White, would have pass'd for very handsome. Women even in *London* itself, having pleasant agreeable Countenances, and of a very modest Behaviour. . . .'.³

The Black Prince in 'Captain Singleton' is like Aphra Behn's Oroonoko, the possessor of 'an honourable just Principle'. And Defoe like Mrs. Behn seems to hold the Europeans responsible for the loss of their innocence and virtue :

'But it is our people, I mean the Europeans, breaking faith with them that first teaches them ingratitude and inures them to treat their new-comers with breach of faith, and with cruelty and barbarity'.⁴

Defoe in the above remarks seems to repeat the contents of the passage quoted below from 'Oroonoko' :—

'But Caesar told him there was no faith in the white man, or the gods they adored ; who instructed them in principles so false, that honest men could not live amongst them ; though no people pro-

¹ A Collection of the Writings of the True-Born English-Man, London, 1707, Reformation of Manners, p. 72.

² Captain Singleton, p. 191.

³ Robinson Crusoe, Vol II, p. 187.

⁴ Captain Singleton, p. 76.

fessed so much, none performed so little ; that he knew what he had to do when he dealt with men of honour ; but with them a man ought to be eternally on his guard, and never to eat and drink with Christians without his weapon of defence in his hand ; and, for his own security never to credit one word they spoke'.¹

Defoe avoids the falsity of tone noticeable in Mrs. Behn, its exaggeration and sentimentality but it is possible that he received from her some hints and suggestions for the formation of his own attitude, which is, however, distinguished by being eminently practical and sober. Mrs. Behn's tale of the truthful savage had extensive influence and is the product of a movement European in origin. As we know, 'The noble savage had made an important entry upon the European stage in the sixteenth century, when Pigafetta, who voyaged round the world with Magellan, wrote that the Brazilians followed Nature, wore no clothes, lived to be 140 years of age, and were free from the civilized vices'.²

Defoe writes in considerable detail about the savages and describes many of their customs and usages : how, for instance, they declare their friendly intention by planting a pole in front of them and how honest they are when they agree to a deal. They demonstrate not only a touching faith in their masters when such a relationship is established but are even prepared to lay down their lives to safeguard the interests of those they serve. They possess great skill in all kinds of handiwork and easily surpass their European teachers in this respect. Their own kings and leaders are men of real dignity and courage yet when they hear the report of a gun and see its consequences, they take to their heels in terror, confusing in their ignorance a mechanical instrument with a super-natural agent. Everywhere this is the same, and the European adventurers make very cautious use of the fire weapon, lest familiarity with it should destroy the mystery and the fear it possessed for the savages. Going about stark naked or very little clad, their women have a strict standard of honour and modesty. On many occasions trouble arose because of an outrage on their women and once the negroes overpowered and killed a ship's company to a man³ provoked by such an insult. Cannibalism, he admits, is a mark of savagery but these

¹ The History of the Royal Slave, p. 68 (The Novels of Mrs. Aphra Behn with an introduction by E. A. Baker, 1905).

² Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, p. 12.

³ Captain Singleton, p. 190.

barbarous men only ate the prisoners of war,¹ and the harm done, therefore, was limited in extent. They possess great physical strength and are 'gentle in disposition according to the version of the English scholar who lived in their midst for a long time. The savages in Madagascar were, however, wicked and treacherous because of their contact with thieves and pirates from European countries who used the place as the base of their operations. They had also a measure of natural intelligence. When Crusoe spoke about Christian theology, the questions put to him by Friday proved fairly searching ones. They were capable of assimilating the Christian doctrines and acting in the true religious spirit as 'The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe' tells us. The French Catholic Priest who was rescued from a ship with broken masts spoke to Crusoe about the moral obligation laid upon Christians to impart religious instructions to the poor savages who had found shelter in the island. When the Englishmen who were living with the negro women married them as a step in moral reform proposed by the same Priest, several negro women were converted to Christianity. Compromising to accept slavery because of the financial implications of the growing African trade, Defoe seems to feel quite a headache until the Negro is admitted to the rank of a free human-being although for the moment the only means available for the purpose is no other than matrimony.

In 'Captain Singleton' we repeatedly come across the manner in which the pirates obtained their provisions from barbarians on the African coast. By giving these men trinkets of practically no value the pirates received from them enormous stores of food which kept them alive and in health during long voyages for 'purchase'. When they traded with other parts of the world, they succeeded in selling their wares at preposterously high prices. There is an account of a deal with a Malabar Indian in 'New Voyage Round the World' in which by giving three bales of English cloth 'and some money, we bought a box of choice pearls . . . which when I came to London, was valued at two thousand and two hundred pounds sterling'.² The trade by which England flourished and obtained her ascendancy in the world had grown to considerable proportions in the eighteenth century and the barter gave them an advantage over those they traded with—which amounted to a form of exploitation of economically backward peoples of the world. Defoe does not condemn or criticise

¹ Robinson Crusoe, Vol. II, p. 184.

² New Voyage Round the World, p. 85, Oxford, 1840.

this type of trading activity. He seems to think that the wares that are given in exchange are accepted out of free choice and no kind of force or pressure is brought to bear for the purpose. If those who are a party to the bargain cannot make as much out of it as others can, it is hardly just to condemn superior management or intelligence because of the advantages it enjoys. From this we can see that although Defoe is humane, he is not ethically an idealist. Defoe's failure to realise the moral implications of exploitation shuts him out of the rank of those thinkers and writers who have provided the best leadership to their age and country.

Another limitation which we find in Defoe is his persistently narrow and insular attitude towards some of the great Asian peoples like the Chinese, the Indians and the Sinhalese. From what he writes in various places, it is evident that Defoe does not lack information about them but sympathy with their ways of life. Speaking of the Chinese in 'The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,' he observes, 'But the Greatness of their Wealth, their Trade, the Power of their Government, and Strength of their Armies, is surprising to us, because as I have said, considering them as a barbarous Nation of Pagans, little better than Savages, we did not expect such Things among them'.¹ He writes again expressing his contempt for the Chinese: 'their Ostentation is inexpressible, and is chiefly shew'd in their Cloaths and Buildings, and in keeping Multitudes of Servants or Slaves, and, which is to the last Degree ridiculous, their Contempt of all the World but themselves'.² The estimate of the Chinese does not suggest that Defoe writes in an ignorant, gossipy manner in which a man readily accepts his prejudice and imagination as his twin guides in the fabrication of the story but rather that their religion and social usages were so widely different from his own that he chose not to see any merit in them. Of the prudence and impartiality of a Chinese Judge, he, however, speaks with admiration, showing that he was not unacquainted with the excellence attained by these people in Jurisprudence.³

In 'Captain Singleton' there is a long account of an encounter with the Sinhalese and of how their treacherous design was frustrated. Quaker William, who led the Europeans in refusing the invitations of the king and people of Ceylon, seems to have formed his opinion of the Sinhalese character from Knox's story of his exile in Ceylon.

¹ Robinson Crusoe, Vol. III, p. 152.

² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

³ Crusoe, Vol. III, pp. 173-74.

In 'New Voyage Round the World', they are described as false, fraudulent and knavish.¹ Defoe is here entirely unreliable as evidence. His attitude to foreigners reveals the novelist rather than the scientific historian—he regards them as so much material for his fiction. In 'Captain Singleton' Defoe also writes of the Malabar Indians as betraying all who in any way sought their help.² In Captain Avery's account of the loot of a Mughul ship in which the daughter of the great Moghul was sailing to Pegu to get married to its king, we have a glimpse of the wealth and grandeur for which the Moghul Court was celebrated but nowhere in the references to Bengal and other parts of India is there anything to suggest the state of things in these places.

The Japanese are described in 'The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe' as a 'false, cruel, and treacherous people'³ although in their business relations they are shown to be honest and punctual.⁴

Towards some of the European nations Defoe has shown the same attitude of disapproval as he has shown towards Asian peoples generally. Of the Portuguese Defoe's opinion is that they are 'the most insolent and cruel, of any that pretend to call themselves Christians, in the World'.⁵ The Spaniard in 'The Farther Adventures' describes them as 'the worst Men in the World to struggle with Misfortunes'.⁶ Singleton states his attitude to them in words full of the deepest hatred: 'I entertained such a settled Abhorrence of the abandon'd Vileness of the *Portuguese*, that I could not but hate them most heartily from the Beginning, and all my Life afterwards'.⁷ Defoe's feelings for the Italians seem equally hostile. 'The prodigious stupid Bigottry of the people', he writes in 'Memoirs of a Cavalier', 'also was irksome to me; I thought there was something in it very sordid, the entire Empire Priests have both over the Souls and Bodies of the People, gave me a Specimen of the Meanness of Spirit which is nowhere to be seen but in Italy...'⁸

The fact that as a Puritan he has natural prejudices against Roman Catholics will not be a full explanation of these sentiments. He does not have a similar ill will against French or Spanish Roman Catholics. His attitude to religious matters is usually free from

¹ New Voyage Round the World, p. 86.

² Captain Singleton, p. 269.

³ Robinson Crusoe, Vol. III, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵ Captain Singleton, p. 7.

⁶ Robinson Crusoe, Vol. III, p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁸ Memoirs of a Cavalier, p. 33.

any passion and violence. The moderation on which he strongly insists in the 'Review' in all aspects of the civic life appears to regulate his religious temper very clearly. Roxana has masses said for the repose of her lover's soul because otherwise she could not give him a decent burial.¹ While Robinson Crusoe stayed at Brazil 'I had made no Scruple of being openly of the Religion of the Country'.² In religious matters as in other things Defoe would submit to the force of circumstance and would allow some consideration to measures which appeared expedient. Hence it may not be wrong to assume that Defoe's antipathy to the Portuguese and the Italian was not mainly the result of his religious opinion but may perhaps be more adequately traced to the political history of these countries and their contemporary practice as known to travellers and others.

Defoe was one of the earliest writers to study the peculiarities of the English character, and in exploding the myth of the trueborn Englishman, he showed also the mixed nature of his origin. The merit in which the English could take pride was thus not in their blood but in their virtues. The grave and sensible Spaniard in 'The Farther Adventures' expresses his admiration for the English Character in words which continue to have value and significance to this day: '.....it was remarkable', said he, 'that *Englishmen* had a greater presence of Mind in their Distress than any People that ever he met with'.³ E.M. Forster writing in 1920 practically makes the same point in his 'Notes on English Character'. 'When a disaster comes', he observes, 'the English instinct is to do what can be done first, and to postpone the feeling as long as possible. Hence they are splendid at emergencies'.⁴ The other traits which he satirizes are not really suggested to be permanent features of the English Character and appear to have been an occasional source of irritation to him. He wrote doggerel verses to hold them up to ridicule:—

'Speak, Venerable Club, declare the Cause
Why Englishmen alone insult their Laws?
Why Sacred Rites are mobb'd, our Clergy fool'd?
Declare—what pleasing Vice still tempts us on,
In Spight of Law and State to be undone'.⁵

¹ The Fortunate Mistress, Vol I., p. 60.

² Crusoe, Vol. II, p. 84.

³ Crusoe, Vol. III, p. 2.

⁴ Abinger Harvest, p. 7.

⁵ Review, Nov. 24, 1704, p. 294.

'Robinson Crusoe' may well be regarded as a study in English character. Defoe has comments to offer on the peculiarities of the French, German, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Dutch, and other peoples. England in the eighteenth century either co-operated or came into conflict, with these nations in war, commerce and colonisation, and Defoe who could inform himself as thoroughly at second hand as at first had undoubted opportunities of forming his views about them. Very few writers in English or any other language had ever concerned themselves at this time or earlier with the distinguishing elements in the characters of such a large variety of peoples. Interest in the subject on such a scale belongs to more recent times and Defoe as a pioneer gives us in this sphere an idea about the universal range of his mind.

RELIGION AND THE SUPERNATURAL

William Lee was probably thinking of the moderation of Defoe when he wrote: 'He was not capable of being a Puritan, though no man could have a greater love for the Bible'.¹ In his love of the Bible, which he once tried to copy out in his childhood, he belonged to an earlier generation of whom J.R. Green wrote: 'England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible'.² Like Cromwell hailing the sun-burst over the hills of Dunbar with the cry of David: 'Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered', Defoe also borrowed the words of the Bible when he needed to express his deepest personal feelings. Harley who approached him with an offer of help when he lay in the prison of Newgate with his family ruined and without hope of deliverance, was answered by him in the words of the Bible, 'Lord, dost thou see that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me? My Answer is plain in my Misery, Lord, that I may receive my Sight'.³

Robinson Crusoe in the desert island finds in the Bible the sustaining power to bear his lot and when disease or some danger seemed to loom large on the horizon, he opened the Bible and the very first words that met his eye put hope and heart into him by the promise of succour they conveyed: 'Call on me in the Day of Trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me'.⁴ 'I will never, never, leave thee, nor forsake thee'.⁵ Wait on the Lord,

¹ William Lee, *Daniel Defoe*, Vol. I, p. 7. London, 1869.

² J.R. Green, *History of the English People*, Ch. VIII, p. 460 Macmillan, 1888.

³ *An Appeal To Honour and Justice, The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, p. 202.

⁴ *Crusoe*, Vol. I, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

and be of good Cheer, and he shall strengthen thy Heart; wait I say, on the Lord'.¹ When the London population fled pell mell for refuge to the country, the Sadler who records the story of the plague, seemed to have divine sanction for his stay in the stricken city and he could not be persuaded by his brother to change his mind. He had much doubt at first as to what he should do and in his incertitude, he cried out, I know not what to do, Lord direct me! 'At this juncture he cast his eye at the 91st Psalm out of which he read the first seven verses '... Only with thine Eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord which is my refuge, even the most High, thy habitation: There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling, etc'.² This reassurance has for him the most tremendous force and the Sadler lived through the whole period during which the pestilence raged in the city and its suburbs without harm to himself.

There are other instances scattered through his various works, and also in his autobiographical 'Appeal to Honour and Justice' which show how often in the utmost perplexity of his mind, the words of Scripture proved a source of comfort and the basis of a new hope even in despondency. For him the Bible was a sufficient guide to conduct and he did not want any learned theologian to interpose himself between him and the word of God. Crusoe read it in the solitude of the Island where he lived for more than twenty-eight years and the landlord in 'Religious Courtship' was told by William, the poor labourer who became his chaplain and instructor that in reading the Bible he did not require any assistance whatsoever. 'The spirit of God will expound his own words to you'.³ This view of the Bible's sufficiency as a way of life without the intermediary of priest or theologian to unlock its meaning is Puritan in origin, and Defoe seemed to hold it most fervently as the only correct thing to promote true religion among Christians. Next in importance to this is the practice of holding family prayers. William, the poor labourer, defined prayer as 'sincere wishes of the heart for grace'.⁴ There is, therefore, no set form for a prayer, provided it comes straight from the heart. In the 'Religious Courtship' and in 'Due Preparations for the Plague', we have examples of the kind

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

² *Journal of the Plague Year*, p. 15.

³ *Religious Courtship*, Scott's Edition, p. 77, Vol. XIV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

of prayers that Defoe approved. He demands repentance and reformation as the *sine qua non* for the Christian life, and the son; in the latter book, after dissenting from his mother, soon agrees that they are necessary for the good life which must mark an important stage in the preparation for the Plague.' In 'The Family Instructor' Defoe has shown the evil consequences of an easy-going life where a good deal of self-complacency in the head of the family makes the children grow up without the benefit of religious instruction in the shape of prayers and they behave in society as a result like a rudderless ship, a prey to every gust of temptation. On minor points like the keeping of the sabbath, refraining from sports and recreation on the day and also from attending theatrical performances, Defoe has very strong views which he states in 'The Family Instructor' and elsewhere. He proposes an abolition of the theatres and providing at the same time suitable compensation to the actors to ensure that they may not be led by necessity to revive them.² He is also opposed to Maypoles as the following extract from the 'Review' will show '... in the first Two Years of Her Majesty's Reign ... The Kingdom of Crime began; Maypoles and Play houses began to thrive, as a constant Contemporary with the Party' (the high-flying party).³

In the 'Religious Courtship' it is pointed out that the rules of life, dictated by the Apostles make for the character of a gentleman, insisting as they do upon courtesy, mercy, kindness, honesty, justice, purity and good reputation.⁴ Here as well as in 'Colonel Jack', the ideal of a gentleman is upheld, once because it consists with true religion, again because, Colonel Jack, convinced of his being of gentle birth, aspires in the midst of his sordid life and environment, to shape his conduct in accordance with his ideal. For Defoe religion seems to have been a means of teaching the decencies of life and of deepening the sympathies. He was by no means crabbed and narrow in his outlook even when he made a sweeping condemnation of the stage. For only a few years earlier its immoral character was fully exposed by Jeremy Collier, the Nonjuror High Churchman.⁵

Defoe was a Dissenter but he did not see eye to eye with those of his sect who stood for occasional conformity so that they might

¹ Due Preparations for the Plague Ed. by G. A. Aitken, Vol. XV, p. 110.

² Review, Vol. VI, pp. 259f, September 1, 1709.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁴ Religious Courtship, pp. 88-89.

⁵ Lee-Defoe, Vol. I, p. 126.

thereby escape from the rigours of the law against the dissenters which shut them out from all offices under government. Professor Sutherland has summed up his feelings on the subject: 'If you are going to be a Dissenter, he argued, then be a good one. Don't spoil your fine stand for liberty of conscience by weekly compromising with the very people from whom you have dissented . . . If you feel that you must accept public office, then join the Church of England, or else boldly run the risk of remaining a complete Dissenter'.¹

Between the Puritanism of Defoe and that of John Bunyan, there is a great gulf fixed. While Defoe was interested in many things besides religion and was actively engaged in a variety of projects, some of which had quite far-reaching consequences for his country, Bunyan was a true prophet with the most profound understanding of religion, whose knowledge of virtue was complete because it comprehended a knowledge of vice as well. His 'History of Mr. Badman' is a convincing account of an unrepentant sinner whose occasional moods of repentance for a vicious life fade away as fast as the occasions giving rise to them disappear. If the puritanism of Defoe lacks the vivid force of Bunyan as well as his depth of vision and understanding, it has at any rate moderation, a quality with which it is easier to sympathise to-day, giving his general attitude to all fundamental issues an admirable poise and balance.

William Lee observes in connexion with Defoe's love of the supernatural: 'His belief in the existence of the supernatural agency . . . was constant, from his youth to old age'.² There were occasions in his own life when important decisions seemed to have been forced on Defoe by the supernatural, acting as a strong impulse and even speaking to him and directing him in an emergency. He was once invited by some merchants, he tells us in 'An Appeal to Honour and Justice' to settle at Cadiz but although the offer was tempting financially, he refused it. There was no objection to the proposal except a certain intuition which seems to have been of a supernatural origin. 'Providence which had other work for me to do, placed a secret aversion in my mind to quitting *England* upon any account, and made me refuse the best Offers of that kind.'³ In 1715 Defoe was summoned to appear before Chief Justice Parker,

¹ Sutherland-Defoe, p. 79.

² Lee-Defoe, Vol. I, p. 408.

³ The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, p. 194.

and he passed some of the most miserable days of his life in the impending gloom of a hard judicial sentence from which escape seemed entirely improbable when he felt a strong impulse darting into his mind thus, *Write a letter to him!* 'It spoke so distinctly to him, and as it were forcibly, that as he has often said since, he can scarcely persuade himself not to believe that he had heard it . . . However, it repeated the words daily and hourly to him, till at length, walking about in his Chambers, where he was hidden, very pensive and sad, it Jogg'd him again, and he answered aloud to it, as if it had been a voice, *Who shall I write to?* It returned immediately, *'Write to the Judge!'* The letter he now wrote was strangely persuasive and eloquent but he did not know how it came to be written. For all the time he seemed to be in a kind of trance and not actively exerting himself to compose an appeal which would impress one, little likely to be predisposed in his favour.

These two instances in Defoe's life suggest his fundamental attitude to the supernatural. For him it was not a question to ask if it existed. Its persistent reality for him placed it above debate and he accepted it as he accepted his religion—in a spirit of submission to its authority which for him was as absolute as that of God himself.

It is easy to classify the supernatural element in his narratives. Dreams which are very frequent in his stories can be emissaries of god and devil alike. In the former case they come as warnings, as a helpful foreshadowing of the immediate future or they may be no more than a suggestion of the character of a particular event. When the dreams are of the Evil One, they serve as temptation, to draw one off from the right course and entangle one in the meshes of lies, perjuries, or worse. To the latter type belongs the dream of the wife in which she seems to poison her husband and children. We are told in the *'Political History of the Devil'* that dreams are the second best of the advantages the Devil has over mankind . . . by dreams he may be said to get into the inside of us without opposition; here he opens and locks without a key, and like an enemy laying siege to a fortified city, reason and nature, the governor of the city, keep him out by day, and keep the garrison true to their duty; but in the dark he gets in and parleys with the garrison . . . debauches them to disloyalty and rebellion'.² But most of the dreams that we come across in Defoe do not have this tendency to corrupt or mislead. In *'The Political History of the Devil'* he tries to reason and argue and

¹ Lee-Defoe, Vol. I, p. 250.

² *The Political History of the Devil*, Scott's Edition, Vol. X, p. 331.

in doing so he can find room for evil dreams to which he does not elsewhere refer in any important context except the one mentioned above. There is an example of an admonitory dream in 'Robinson Crusoe' in which some one descended from a great black cloud with a long spear in his hand and called him to repentance in a terrible voice: 'Seeing all these Things have not brought thee to Repentance, now thou shalt die'.¹ The threat of death which terrifies Crusoe does not offer any problem to the student of psychology in view of Crusoe's proneness to discover sin in a piece of wilful conduct which although pardonable in itself was represented by the Puritan conscience as a serious transgression.

Dreams as we find them in Defoe seem for the most part to be merely the prefigurement of something that actually happens at a later date. Robinson Crusoe has the dream of a savage running for shelter to his grove, before his fortifications, outstripping the pursuers and finally soliciting his assistance on his knees.² This exactly happens shortly after when he rescues Friday from the clutches of his savage enemies. In 'The Farther Adventures' Crusoe had a vision of the three 'Reprobate' Englishmen and their rebellion as well as of the part he himself was to play in that exciting drama.³ The events did not actually fall out quite in the manner he foresaw them in his dream but there was substantial agreement between them and his strange prefigurement of the circumstances. From the very beginning, however, Crusoe was persuaded that his dream was a clear foreboding.⁴ The Spanish Governor in the same story has a dream of men fighting and killing one another. He could not get any sleep, his thoughts being disturbed. Soon after two nations of savages come to the island, their visits synchronising by accident, and they engage in a fight for two hours, attended with a good deal of carnage. A Spaniard who was told about the dream of the governor, defined what should be the true attitude towards it in words which suggest that such was also the feeling of Defoe on the subject: 'I am satisfied our Spirits embodied have a Converse with, and receive Intelligence from the Spirits unembodied and inhabiting the invisible World, and this friendly Notice is given for our Advantage, if we know how to make Use of it'.⁵

¹ Crusoe, Vol. I, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

³ Farther Adventures, Vol. II, p. 113.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

There is a dream in 'The Farther Adventures' which allegorises the comparative safety attained by Robinson Crusoe after a long and perilous voyage in which he and his fellow traveller ran the risk of being hanged as pirates by the Dutch in spite of their innocence. Crusoe's partner in the voyage 'told me he dream'd, that he had a very heavy load upon his Back, which he was to carry up a Hill, and found that he was not able to stand long under it; but that the *Portuguese* Pilot came and took it off his Back, and the Hill disappear'd, the Ground before him shewing smooth and plain. . . .'¹ Quaker William in obedience to a dream relating to the discovery of a gold mine which in essence represented another dream by the Cocsuain sallied out with a number of men into a country which had quite a forbidden aspect and soon after was rewarded to the full by meeting their long-lost comrades in the ship commanded by Captain Wilmot. These men had disappeared since a storm at Tobago drifted them apart and had in the meanwhile secured a vast treasure which of course belonged to the common fund. Colonel Jack dreamed of Policemen knocking at his door almost at the very moment they fetched away his teacher and comrade in the art of picking pockets and shop-lifting.² The Cavalier's mother in the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier' had a series of dreams before the birth of her son, the future cavalier; once that she was carried away by a Regiment of Horse, and delivered in the Fields of a son; again, that she was brought to bed of a son, and that all the while she was in labour, a man stood under her window, beating on a kettledrum.³ The Cavalier who spent most of his life in campaigns amply fulfilled the dreams that preceded his birth.

Defoe apparently believed in the potency of a wish in affecting not only human beings on whom we have claims of affection but also occasionally in turning Nature into an instrument for its fulfilment. A sincere wish, he has defined as prayer and viewed from this angle, the results might not seem so surprising to a devout Christian as they might otherwise do. Two examples that follow attest Defoe's somewhat naive belief in the power of a wish.

Moll Flanders's husband, the highway man, bids her farewell in a letter and leaves her early in the morning before she is up. Painfully agitated by his departure, she cried incessantly, asking him to return. And return he did. His story was that he heard her calling

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

² *The Life of Colonel Jack*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

³ *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, p. 1.

him back at a place about twelve miles off. 'I heard your Voice as plain as you hear mine now; if you please, I'll go before a Magistrate and make Oath of it'.¹ Roxana, suddenly homesick for England as she was crossing the channel on her way to Holland, 'secretly wish'd that a Storm wou'd rise that might drive the Ship over to the Coast of *England*'.² And a storm did arise, forcing the ship to make for the harbour at Harwich. In *Mist's Journal* for January 1, 1720, Defoe writes about a lady in Gloucestershire who in her dream cried 'Fire,' and awakened the servants who found the house on fire in good earnest.³

Apart from dreams Defoe seems to have been a believer also in a kind of second sight, of which a striking instance occurs in 'The Fortunate Mistress.' Roxana has a perfectly clear vision of the manner in which the Jeweller whose mistress she was, was murdered shortly before the event took place. When he was going out on his fatal errand, she looked at him and instead of the living man, she saw a death's head, 'and when I thought I perceiv'd his Head all Bloody, too; and immediately it all went off, and he look'd as he really did'.⁴

Defoe also writes about ghosts in his 'Apparition of Mrs. Veal' and in 'A Remarkable Passage of an Apparition'. But his ghosts have nothing exciting or strange about them and so far as conduct is concerned there is not much difference between them and the living. They have their usual human forms and death does not seem to change their speech or aspect in any important manner. In the pages of Defoe they remain entirely untouched by imagination.

The supernatural element so far considered falls into a number of distinct categories. In Defoe's stories and other writings, as already noticed, dreams take an important place, their business being in the main to warn. The owner of a ship in 'Captain Avery', for example, did not part with his ship for no other reason than that 'his Wife had an ugly Dream or two about the Ship',⁵ and thus through this warning escaped loss and misfortune. More often in the absence of a correct understanding of the nature of dreams, they merely foreshadow the future which shapes out almost always in entire harmony with their prefigurement. Dreams might also become indirect and allegorical, and serve to express a sense of relief after a

¹ *Moll Flanders*, Vol. I, p. 164.

² *The Fortunate Mistress*, Vol. I, p. 141.

³ *William Lee-Defoe*, Vol. II, p. 183.

⁴ *The Fortunate Mistress*, Vol. I, p. 58.

⁵ *Moll Flanders*, Vol. II (*Captain Avery*), p. 238.

severe strain on the nerves caused by anxiety and worry. An example of this has been given above. The second sight in which Defoe believes is an ability to look into the future and have a momentary, though clear, vision of what is yet to be.¹ Defoe's ghosts are matter of fact and commonplace. In 'A Remarkable Passage of An Apparition' the ghost vanishes after being admonished by a clergyman, suggesting that religion has a quieting effect upon the visitors from the other shore. In 'Duncan Campbell' Defoe mentions 'A Spirit by the country people called Brownie'.²

Defoe has represented certain wishes as having an impelling power on others and as possessing quite an extraordinary force even to change the course of Nature. They are like prayers whose strength is equivalent to that of God to whom they are addressed. His supernatural beliefs are in general an extension of his religious faith and can be explained with reference to it. Belief in the supernatural was, however, widespread in Defoe's time³ and Beaumont, Aubrey, Glanvil and Hutchinson reveal the same beliefs about the supernatural as we find in Defoe.

Defoe tried now and then to bring reason to bear upon superstitious ideas which obtained among his contemporaries, and explode them by analysis and argument. Nor was he full of zeal for prophecies even when they turned out to be true. Some prophecies were fulfilled in his day but he did not permit himself to make any hasty generalisation. When the Dauphin dies according to a prediction made some months earlier, Defoe made his position clear in the comments he offered on the circumstance: 'I need make no farther Declaration of my own Opinion, and how far I do not lay any Stress upon such Things as these; I would do by them as I do by Dreams, viz. neither lay too much Stress upon them, or too little'.⁴ But in practice he showed himself far more sceptical about predictions than about dreams, and did not suggest that they deserved our attention to the same extent as dreams did.

Defoe used the beliefs of his age, subscribing to them quite often without making any effort to ascertain their true character. Shakespeare also made use of the supernatural but for him it was neither religion nor superstition but a mode of knowing character in moments of extreme tension. As we have seen, Defoe's personal experiences

¹ Duncan Campbell as well as his Lapland mother had the gift of second sight.

² Lee—Defoe, Vol. I, p. 410.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Defoe's Review, Vol. VIII, No. 161, p. 645.

predisposed him in favour of the supernatural but he could be clear and rational when he chose. Speaking of the disease which was supposed to be cured by the royal touch, the so-called 'King's evil', he observes: 'The power of imagination, fancy, conceit, on faith, call it which you will, have all of them their particular influences in cases of disease, and some very strong natural reasons are given for it. There can remain, therefore, no doubt but that their contrary influences are also very strong; and he who firmly believes he shall not be cured, as he that fancies he shall be cured, shall have the cure'.¹

¹ Review, Suppl. 8, p. 16; also, Wilson—Defoe. Vol. II, p. 20.

INTO THE NURSERIES OF HEAVEN

DR. S. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., PH.D.

III

Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan and Traherne

The title of 'metaphysical poets' given to Donne and his followers was most unhappy. In at least one modern writer I find support to this view and he is Gerald Bullett who says, "Among the mis-called 'metaphysical' poets of the seventeenth century, the man of most startling and original genius is John Donne."³³⁸ A comparison of these mis-called 'metaphysical poets' with Thompson in the field of mysticism, however, will only show their drawbacks and deficiency to reach the highest point of mystical experience or expression. In the words of Miss Spurgeon: "The dominating characteristic of Donne is intellectuality; and this may partly account for the lack in him of some essentially mystical qualities, more specially reverence."³³⁹ In the opinion of another critic: "The 'metaphysical' fashion in poetry, while it afforded a soil favourable to the growth of the mystical temperament, was not in itself a form of mysticism Donne's pious meditations . . . and his excessively ingenious descant upon his westward ride on Good Friday are merely knockings at the gate of mysticism."³⁴⁰ While a third writer says: "We have noted that Thompson was happy, as compared with Donne, in his undivided occupation with the world of spirit."³⁴¹ If that is the position of Donne as a mystic poet, Herbert's is no better. We read about him: "The very best of George Herbert's poems, hardly more perhaps than a dozen in all, are exquisite both in temper and workmanship; but there is nothing distinctively mystical about them."³⁴² Much stress has been laid by some critics on Thompson's indebtedness to Crashaw. But, on a closer examination this view loses its strength.

³³⁸ 'The English Mystics' by Gerald Bullett, p. 94.

³³⁹ 'Mysticism in English Literature' by C. F. E. Spurgeon, p. 72.

³⁴⁰ 'The Mystical Element in English Poetry' by A. H. Thompson in 'Essays and Studies,' Vol. VIII, 1922.

³⁴¹ 'Wit and Beauty—A Study of Metaphysical Poetry' by G. R. Hamilton in 'The London Mercury,' Vol. XIV, October, 1926.

³⁴² 'The English Mystics' by Gerald Bullett, p. 102.

It is said by Miss Spurgeon that "he (Crashaw) describes in terms only matched by his spiritual descendant, Francis Thompson, the desire of God to win the human soul.

" Let not my Lord, the mighty lover
Of soules, disdain that I discover
The hidden art
Of his high stratagem to win your heart
It was his heavenly art
Kindly to crosse you
In your mistaken love

* * * *

Home to himself." ³⁴³

This remark is, in my opinion, quite unfounded. Is there any sincere connoisseur of mystical poetry who will rate the above-mentioned verses higher than the lines of 'The Hound of Heaven' or think Crashaw's hymn to St. Teresa superior to Thompson's 'The kingdom of God'? The poems of Crashaw contain the description of the mystic experience of other persons, whereas those of Thompson his own. This is the reason why Violet I. Kemp wrote: "Crashaw does not long for a closer walk with God, but unites in joyful content with his faith, as on the whole did Herbert, though in a spirit that explored much deeper," as well as Evans said, "Coventry Patmore concurred in the opinion that he (Francis Thompson) was a 'greater Crashaw', and looked to him to explore 'the inexhaustible and hitherto almost unworked mine of Catholic Philosophy.'" ³⁴⁴ Coming to Henry Vaughan we find that he too cannot claim superiority to Thompson because "The yearning of the divine for the human has little place in Vaughan's imagination," ³⁴⁵ and in him there was only "deep humility preparing the spirit for its heavenly dwelling:—

" O my dear God
Forgive your penitent offender,
And no more his sins remember."

With further explanation of his experience Vaughan wrote:—"I saw Eternity the other night." ³⁴⁶ But this knowledge of Eternity is not the same as that of Thompson and, therefore according to Miss

³⁴³ 'Mysticism in English Literature' by C. F. E. Spurgeon, pp. 128-29.

³⁴⁴ 'English Poetry in the Later Nineteenth Century' by B. I. Evans, p. 148.

³⁴⁵ 'The Mystical Element in English Poetry' by A. H. Thompson in 'Essays and Studies,' Vol. VIII, p. 97.

³⁴⁶ 'Henry Vaughan' by Francis Paul in 'The Contemporary Review,' No. 1008, December, 1949, p. 370.

Spurgeon "Vaughan is more of a mystical philosopher, deeply read in Plato and the medieval alchemists." The mystical attainments of Thomas Traherne has been described in a very recent book in this manner: "Thomas Traherne, whose writings have quite lately come to light by an accident, after being long completely forgotten is not quite in the first rank, but he is worthy to stand as a third with the two Welshmen, George Herbert and Vaughan . . ." ³⁴⁷ While Miss Spurgeon thinks that "He is deeply sensitive to the beauty of the natural world, and he insists on the necessity for rejoicing in this beauty if we are really to live." This is, then, another form of Nature Mysticism whose value we have already fathomed.

SHELLEY, MILTON, AND KEATS

In a limited space I can only give a few opinions on the mystical attainments of the abovementioned poets detailed studies about whom have been made in so many volumes. This can be done in no better manner than by the quotation from Fr. McNabb who in a nutshell has drawn a very accurate comparative picture of the spiritual legacies of Thompson, Milton and Shelley thus: If Francis Thompson deals with the soul, Milton and Shelley deal with the soul in its unreasonable revolt against the infinite. Thompson's song is religion: Milton's is theology. Thompson makes us love, Christianity, Milton makes us detest Calvinism . . . Milton's 'Paradise Lost' like Thompson's 'Hound of Heaven,' sings of a God who pursues the sinner. But the God-hound of Milton is yearning to devour, whilst the Hound of Heaven is yearning to embrace the soul whom it pursues . . . The truth is that Shelley not being able to brook the bridle of law, Prometheus-like set out to thwart it. He deposed the God of the world; nor would he adore another God than one of his own image and making. On the other hand, the writer of 'The Hound of Heaven' looks upon himself through the eyes of God . . . For Shelley the religion of Nature was but a pagan mythology; for Thompson it was mysticism. Had Shelley been converted to live he would have been as Thompson, for the conversion of a poet is but a going forward from mythology to mysticism." ³⁴⁸ Another beautiful comparison has been found to be of the following type: "If the message of Shelley was—as it seems to have been—that Love and Beauty shall endure to unite all things; and the message of Keats to restore the spirit of the Greeks and 'Art for Art's sake,' that of Francis Thompson is, to proclaim not only the 'embroidery on the veil,' but the glory of the veiled One Himself, the 'Beauty ever

³⁴⁷ 'Mysticism in Religion' (1948) by V. Rev. W. R. Inge, p. 88.

³⁴⁸ 'Francis Thompson and Other Essays' by Fr. Vincent McNabb, pp. 15-19.

Ancient and ever New." ³⁴⁹ Again, if personal experience has any place in the evaluation of mysticism in poetry, then one may read the following: "I was ready enough to admit that the impassioned intuition of Shelley (say) differed profoundly from the 'intuition of God as present,' which is the typical experience of the contemplative." ³⁵⁰

TENNYSON, BROWNING, AND ARNOLD

The picture that we get of Tennyson's mysticism is rather vague. For example, in the words of Miss Spurgeon, "He (Tennyson) has no mystic rapture in Nature like Wordsworth, no mystic interpretation of life as had Browning, no yearning for union with the spirit of love and beauty as had Shelley. Tennyson's mysticism came, as it were, rather in spite of himself . . . He sets his position quite clearly in 'In Memoriam' . . ." ³⁵¹ But a recent contributor writes in 'The Quarterly Review': "The faith of which Tennyson speaks in the prologue ('in Memoriam') is not so much a religious faith as a belief in the great axioms which necessarily precede the reasoning process." ³⁵² We thus see that there is no conformity in the accounts of Tennyson's mystic gift. It is also said that a certain peculiar experience came to him through repeating his own name silently. This certainly cannot be regarded as the highest mystic realization and I would like to call it a form of psychism. Moreover, the mystic wealth attributed to his well-known poem 'The Ancient Sage' was not his own life-experience but was taken from Eastern Philosophy. It contains much casuistry of the type:

'Thou canst not prove that I, who speak with thee,
Am not thyself in converse with thyself,
For nothing worthy proving can be proven,
Nor yet disproven:'

(*The Ancient Sage*)

Therefore, one critic said, "He (Francis Thompson) could not have written with Tennyson:—

'I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff; and call
To what I feel is Lord of all
And faintly trust the larger hope.'

³⁴⁹ 'Francis Thompson—Poet and Mystic' by John Thomson, p. 105.

³⁵⁰ 'Mysticism and Poetry—On a Basis of Experience' by A. A. Brockington, p. 5.

³⁵¹ 'Mysticism in English Literature' by C. F. E. Spurgeon, pp. 84-87.

³⁵² 'The Real Tennyson' by Alfred Noyes in 'The Quarterly Review,' No. 582, October, 1949.

Aloof from men he (Thompson) dwelt with God recognizing to the full:—

‘ All which I took from thee I did but take
Not for thy harms

But just that thou mightst seek it in My arms.’ ”³⁵³

About Browning's mysticism Miss Spurgeon says, “ We see at once that the main position of Browning's belief is identical with what we have found to be the characteristic of mysticism—unity under diversity at the centre of all existence. The same essence, the one life, expresses itself through every diversity of form.”³⁵⁴ We have, however, seen the value of this kind of mysticism which is known as Nature Mysticism and is inferior to Sacramental Mysticism. So we read: “ Monsieur K. Rooker in his notable French work on Francis Thompson states: ‘ He (Thompson) is quite convinced of the infinite union of his soul with the Living God . . . his belief has nothing in common with the vague pantheism of the Victorian era: we never find in him the uneasy agnosticism of Matthew Arnold or the ample beliefs of Robert Browning. In his poetry it is not the human soul which gropes among shadows in search of his God, but God who pursues the wandering soul of the poet.’ ”³⁵⁵

PATMORE, YEATS, A. E. AND ELIOT, T. S.

Some critics, as we saw in the earlier chapters, have given undue importance to Thompson's indebtedness to Patmore and thus have wrongly minimised his real worth. Against this we get many judgements like the following: “ No mere imitation . . . of Patmore is discernible in Thompson's writings.”³⁵⁶ Or, “ we intend nothing derogatory to the genius of *Patmore* nor, seek in any way to ‘ diminish his diameter,’ only to remind ourselves that he *had nothing to give Thompson that Thompson did not already and more abundantly possess* . . . ”³⁵⁷

In his ‘ Introduction ’ to the book ‘ Three Mystic Poets ’ by Dr. A. C. Bose, Dr. J. H. Cousins laments the failure of the English poetry of the last half century for its being woefully insensive to new views of life and death (specially to the inroads that science in its psychical and psychological aspects, has made on its own purblind past) that could have kindled ‘ a flame of imaginative inspiration. I wonder why Dr. Cousins made such a blunder about the source of high poetry.

³⁵³ ‘ Francis Thompson—Poet and Mystic ’ by John Thomson, p. 75.

³⁵⁴ ‘ Mysticism in English Literature ’ by C. F. E. Spurgeon, pp. 38-46.

³⁵⁵ ‘ Francis Thompson—Poet and Mystic ’ by John Thomson, pp. 56-58.

³⁵⁶ ‘ The Moderns ’ by John Freeman, p. 298.

³⁵⁷ ‘ Francis Thompson ’ by F. C. Owlett, p. 36.

He ought to have remembered that it is not the mere study or knowledge that makes a poet great. Though it is true that a poet is influenced by his age and country and is a social creature, yet it is more true that a great poet speaks of no age and no country but of the universal truth which is unchangeable. It is the great experience and high realization in 'the bivouac of life' that make a poet great and impressive. The development of modern science has made our souls poorer. The mere technical and academic progress had never given the higher realizations of life nor, will they be able to do so in future. If one wants to 'kindle the flame of imaginative inspiration,' one should look into one's own soul and take a synthetic rather than an analytic view of life. Modern science has taught us to split an atom but not to pay the due attention to the Force that is holding the atoms together. So, if modern poetry lacks higher tune, there is nothing to be surprised. I think we came across the sentence; "Great poetry will cease to be written when poets cease to be men for whom the invisible world exists." And in the view of a modern yogi: "Our eagerness for worldly activity kills in us the sense of spiritual awe. We cannot comprehend the Great Life behind all names and forms, just because science brings home to us how we can use the powers of nature; this familiarity has bred a contempt for her ultimate secrets. Our relation with nature is one of practical business. We tease her, so to speak, to know how she can be used to serve our purposes; we make use of her energies whose Source yet remains unknown. In science our relation with nature is one that exists between a man and his servant, or in a philosophical sense she is like a captive in the witness box. We cross-examine her, challenge her, and minutely weigh her evidence in human scales which cannot measure her hidden values."³⁵⁸

Coming to Yeats we find that "His mysticism, is not, as a rule, of the directly transcendental or religious type . . . Yeats's poetic inspiration, on the other hand, is more purely aesthetic and humanistic . . . The bulk of Yeats's poetry is mystical more on account of the temper of his mind, the tune of his feelings and the nuance of his style than for the revelation of a mystic apprehension or declaration of a mystic faith . . . his 'another world' was the world of spirits, and apparitions, quite distinct from the transcendental reality sought by the mystic."³⁵⁹ In the opinion of Louis Cazamian: "His work is more thoroughly steeped than any

³⁵⁸ 'Auto-biography of a Yogi' by Paramhansa Yogananda, p. 338.

³⁵⁹ 'Three Mystic Poets' by Dr. A. C. Bose, pp. 2, 10, 25.

other in the imaginative mysticism which, we are told, is the essential attribute of Celticism."³⁶⁰ According to another writer:—

"Yeats is essentially a dreamer, and his dreams seem wrought out of
the dreams the drowsy gods

Breathe on the burnished mirror of the world,

And then smooth out with loving hands and sigh." ³⁶¹

From the above-mentioned verdicts it will be seen that Yeats was not a mystic of the highest order as he neither passed the life of a true mystic nor expressed the transcendental realization in his poems. He was, on the other hand, a creator of dreams out of the unsubstantial world. He gave mists and shadows which hid the sun from the view of his readers. It is false to think, as some do, that "he did not allow his powerful feelings to overflow into poetry or to revel in transcendental ecstasy," because transcendental ecstasy is such a thing that it brooks no barrier and comes out of its container in one form or the other. Francis Thompson is the best example of it, because "his rapt mysticism and paradisaic airs, the wide range of his mental vision . . . have placed him high in the permanent ranks of fame . . . Transcendent thought, glowing pictures, . . . abound in Thompson's verse. He takes an idea and develops it adding layer after layer of thought with the insight of the seer, and the enthusiasm of the mystic saturated in consciousness of the supernatural. He roams heaven and earth alike in his quest for comparisons to illustrate the fancies of his mind."³⁶² It is said that Yeats "in his later period wrote poems which recorded experiences that are mystical in the generally accepted sense of the term." But even these are not free from expressions of psychism and it is advisable to remember that "the application of the term 'mysticism' to anything that looks inexplicable can by no means be justified."

While comparing the different aspects of the mysticism of the poets, George William Russell, W. B. Yeats and Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Bose writes, "We find three stages in the mystic experience, each with a style appropriate to it. First, there is 'the vague premonition of a mystery.' . . . We find this type of mysticism in W. B. Yeats . . . Secondly, there is the subjective type of mysticism, the mystical longing, the aspiration for a Beyond . . . it was Rabindranath Tagore . . . who fitly represents this type of mysticism . . . The third stage

³⁶⁰ 'A History of English Literature, Pt. II,' by L. Cazamian, p. 1285.

³⁶¹ 'A History of English Literature' by A. Compton-Rickett, pp. 481-482.

³⁶² 'Francis Thompson—Poet and Mystic' by John Thomson, pp. 81, 87.

of mysticism is that of experiencing an inner illumination, the lifting of the veil of darkness from the unknown and a sense of sudden glory accompanying it. Here comes the final certitude in the mystic's mind regarding the transcendental, with the spontaneous emotional reaction to it. . . . In A.E. we find this third type of mysticism . . . A.E. thus came to believe in a wider type of 'mysticism' which included sensuous and super-sensuous knowledge. In other words a considerable part of his mysticism was identified with occultism, as understood by Theosophy."³⁶³ There is much to be said against the three stages of the mystic experience described by Dr. Bose. To the reader of this Thesis a better picture of the different types of mysticism and their stages have been offered. Bearing all those things in mind as well as remembering that true mysticism has nothing to do with occultism which is definitely below transcendentalism we can safely assert that *A.E. was far from the realization of the highest mystic experience or expression of it from personal accounts so wonderfully presented by Francis Thompson. He (A.E.) might have been a sage, but certainly not a saint. His poetry undoubtedly contains the knowledge of higher truth, but it lacks the personal contribution which is the very life and soul of the highest mystical poetry.* Because, "Psychism, however fine and chastened, can have no play here (*i.e.*, in the realization of the Absolute). It can give us the glimpse of transcendence. But it is only a glimpse . . . Transcendence is not reception. It is being."³⁶⁴ Dr. Bose further writes, "When we remind ourselves that this poem, *viz.*

"Twilight of amethyst, amid
The few strange stars that lit the heights,
Where was the secret spirit hid,
Where was Thy place, O Light of Lights?"

('Light of Lights,' 3rd Stanza).

was published in February 1893—after the death of Tennyson—when English poetry was passing through the decadence of the 'fin de siècle,' we must concede to it the honour of heralding a new spirit in poetry."³⁶⁵ It is very strange that Dr. Bose passes such a remark. Because, he firstly forgets that the 'Light of Lights' is only a literal translation of the Sanskrit 'Jyotisham jyotih' and not any original poem of A.E. . . Secondly, the first volume of Francis Thompson's poems including 'The Hound of Heaven' was published in 1893 to prove that English poetry was not passing through the decadence of the 'fin de siècle.'

³⁶³ 'Three Mystic Poets' by Dr. A. C. Bose, pp. 47, 48.

³⁶⁴ 'Hindu Mysticism' by Mahendranath Sircar, p. 301.

³⁶⁵ 'Three Mystic Poets' by Dr. A. C. Bose, p. 82.

'The Hound of Heaven' itself was written in July 1890, i.e., three years before A.E.'s 'Light of Lights' saw the light. Therefore, *if anybody heralded a new spirit in poetry after the death of Tennyson, it was none but Francis Thompson who has up till now been deprived of his due honour.* It has truly been remarked in a modern book on English literature, "How odd are the fluctuations of judgment! Sometimes for a whole century an old writer remains unappreciated. The mental climate is unfavourable; the acoustics unsuited to his kind of music; the general mind obtuse to his thought."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND SRI AUROBINDO

We have already seen that in the opinion of Dr. Bose, Tagore represents the subjective type of mysticism. He further writes, "The most essential thing about his (Tagore's) mysticism is that it has been understood as a vision and quality of being and never as the occult approach to phenomena that baffle the ordinary methods of scientific investigation. His mysticism is the result of spiritual culture and has nothing to do with spirits or other preternatural phenomena . . . This mysticism is derived from the Vedas and the Upanishads . . . Tagore's mysticism is based on the conception of a deathless soul and of endless possibilities before it, so that man, when spiritually conscious, feels greater than he knows . . . In metaphysical language, it is the emancipation of the spirit from the bonds of matter, an emancipation that unites it with the Super-soul . . . The poet dedicates himself to 'the Mighty Goddess,' 'the most Beloved of the universe,' whom he wishes to serve by noble acts . . . At this time Tagore conceived the idea of Jivan Devata, a sort of presiding Deity . . . The final note of Tagore's mysticism is that of 'a transcendent humanism' . . . The speciality of Tagore's mysticism lies in that it is comprehensive not only in respect of the content of experience or thought but also in the use of the different symbolic processes of expression. And he uses his symbols with so much ease and naturalness that the ordinary reader who looks for mere images of life and the philosopher who expects a system of ideas are alike baffled . . . This is where Tagore has an easier access to the mind of the average reader than Donne, or Blake or even Yeats, in respect of symbolism." In the words of another writer: "Tagore is a mystic, but his mysticism is simple and beautiful, not obscure . . . He is an idealist, but not one who sighs after the unattainable . . . Tagore does not think that self-consecration should"

lead to asceticism . . . For his mystic's mind all beauty in nature is the living touch of God's love."³⁶⁷

It would be sheer foolishness to try to encompass in a few lines the vast mystical treasure left by Tagore the world-poet, who undoubtedly had communion with the Absolute as evinced by his visualization of Jivan Devata who is none but the Atman or God from whom our soul has arisen according to Indian Philosophy. But just as it is true that Tagore's soul rose high up to the very ceiling of the spiritual height so also it is a fact that he always came down to the lap of the Mother Earth to sing in the manner of Francis Thompson :

" Have you not heard his silent steps
He comes; comes, ever comes."

(Gitanjali)

which can be said to be a parallel of the latter's :—

" And lo, Christ walking on the water
Not of Gennesareth, but Thames."

(The Kingdom of God)

Hence we read in a very well-known work in Bengali language on Rabindranath (' Introduction to the Literature of Rabindra ' by Prof. N. Roy, p. 68) :—" The presence and unfolding of Jivan Devata is not in the universe—it is within us; in other words, the play or Lila of Jivan Devata is in the heart of our own personality but it is fulfilled in the externalised life of the world." The same author says in another place : " There is nothing obscure in the mysticism of Rabindranath as people understand by the term: His intellect and knowledge is open, imaginative mind very sensitive; his sadhana is to look at both the seen and the unseen with full gaze and to enjoy them by all the senses." The special feature of Tagore's poetry has been put by S. Radhakrishnan thus : " If Rabindranath has touched Indian hearts, it is because he is first and foremost a poet and not a philosopher. But in all his works he has in view the great ideal of ancient Hindu art, *viz.* ' to make the central ideas of Hindu religion and philosophy intelligible to all Hinduism, to satisfy the unlettered but not unlearned Hindu peasant as well as the intellectual Brahmin . . . Rabindranath is following the tradition of the great Indian Rishis who spoke what they felt in the lyric songs of the Upanishads and their other creations . . . His words please the ear, his ideas sink into the heart . . . The voice Rabindranath, vibrating with the passion of genius, and glorifying all race, instils into the sinking heart of India faith in herself, faith in her future, and faith in the world."³⁶⁸

³⁶⁷ ' An Introduction to Rabindranath Tagore's Mysticism ' by Sybil Baumer.

³⁶⁸ ' The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore ' by S. Radhakrishnan, pp. 169-71.

In one sense Sri Aurobindo's poetry may be looked upon as an antithesis of Rabindranath's when we find that his soul dwells for ever at the giddy height of spiritual realization from where currents of lights of different planes are sent to the readers of the earth. As a true yogi he finds it difficult to be free from the communion with the Absolute and give himself wholly to the sensory-world. Most of his visions are transcendent and therefore difficult to be grasped by the ordinary men of the world. So, he is regarded as obscure by many who are afraid to make an attempt of fathoming his contribution in prose and poetry. In the words of an Indian critic: "Sri Aurobindo is more specially, uniquely and absolutely a mystic than most of the others . . . and as a laureate of the Spirit he can have few equals anywhere. Great and difficult, says Sri Aurobindo, is the burden of the poet's destiny: 'A divine Ananda, a delight interpretative, creative, revealing, formative,—one might almost say, an inverse reflection of the joy which the universal Soul has felt in its great release of energy when it rang out into the rhythmic forms of the universe the spiritual truth, the large interpretative idea, the life, the power, the emotion of things packed into its original creative vision,—such spiritual joy is that which the soul of the poet feels and which, when he can conquer the human difficulties of his task, he succeeds in pouring also into all those who are prepared to receive it.'" Sri Aurobindo's own recent poems are an attempt to achieve in English something equivalent to the *mantra*. Words are now more than mere words, they are quanta of energy, soul-radiations, winged squadrons of the spirit."³⁹⁹ Another Indian critic gives an accurate judgment on the comparative merits of Sri Aurobindo and other English mystic poets discussed in this Thesis. He writes, "Thompson creates an image magnificently profound about the human heart's unrealised grandeur:—

"The world, from star to sea, cast down its brink
Yet shall that chasm, till He who these did build
An awful Curtius make Him, yawn unfilled."

(The Heart).

As sheer poetry this is equal to the Aurobindonian lines and the spiritual word-significance is as admirable . . . Thompson's rhythm, like his expression has grip and strength, it shakes up broad tracts of the mind into the infinite overhead . . . The coupling of the overhead vision with the overhead word-rhythm is the achievement par excellence.

³⁹⁹ 'Lyra Mystica' by K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar in 'Mother India,' September 30, 1950.

of Sri Aurobindo. The former is rare enough, but at times it does occur in other mystical poets. There are a few snatches in Yeats, many in A.E., *for Yeats, for all his attraction towards the unseen world, had no strong eye for the supremely spiritual.... A.E. had a far closer acquaintance with it, yet he too did not go beyond the heart's lyrical God-drunkeness, the glamor of the Celtic mid-worlds and the mind's first few entranced steps above philosophy into direct touch on the Spirit.* Though the Upanishads cast their light on him, the overhead accent visited him at scattered moments only and then also, as a rule, in a weakened form . . . That he is not a frequent assured dweller on the Aurobindonian levels detracts nothing from his status as the most spiritual of English singers."³⁷⁰ Therefore it can be said that "Sri Aurobindo's power and personality cannot be evaluated; we can beg the question and call him a Yogi, a Rishi, he is indeed, many Rishis in one—a purna Rishi. He at any rate is not reduced to a feeling of inutility by the prevalent crisis human history . . ."³⁷¹ This is also the verdict of the present writer confirmed by his personal experience with the Rishi of Rishis.

It now only remains to be stated at the end of this chapter that if Rabindranath and Sri Aurobindo are the messenger-poets of Indian mysticism, Francis Thompson occupies the same kind of place in Christian mysticism though at the highest point of realization all the three meet together. Because, "Christian mysticism, as Prof. James shows, is very near to the Vedanta and the Upanishads. That fountain-head of Christian mysticism, Dionysius the Areopagite, tells about the absolute truth in negative formulae only."^{372*}

³⁷⁰ 'The Poetic Genius of Sri Aurobindo' by K. D. Sethna, pp. 135, 149-50.

³⁷¹ 'Sri Aurobindo' by K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, p. 398.

³⁷² 'Tertium Organum' by P. D. Ouspensky: English Translation, Kegan & Paul, 1937, p. 285.

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INDIAN FEDERAL FINANCE AND THE FINANCE COMMISSION

BIMALAKANTA SARKAR, M.A.,

Lecturer in Economics, Tamruk College

(I)

In Public Finance as in any other subject of general interest we are ordinarily interested in finding out the norm or the ideal. Needless to say, generally speaking, man's happiness or all-round welfare would presumably appear to be the ideal. Some of the classical economists would rather have it come down for ordinary purposes to what may be called economic welfare; this economic welfare would be roughly an index of general happiness or composite welfare. In estimating it naturally interpersonal relationships and what are called technological economies would be taken into consideration. Thus economic prosperity would be balanced against sociological-cum-economic evils such as smoke nuisance or interpersonal relationships such as inequality of income. The neo-classical economists, as Samarelson has well analysed, do not like to take into consideration these interpersonal relationships which appear to be represented in Marshall's predilections towards economic equality or equitable distributions of income or for the matter of that technological aspects of Pigou referred to above. Be that as it may, we cannot ignore completely the classical view of welfare economics; for the present taking into consideration fundamentally economic aspects of the matter alone we might say that there should be equilibrium of demand and supply of national output at Full Employment under ordinary market prices. It may be, deductions and corollaries would bring into purview some consideration regarding technological economies or interpersonal relationships. The Keynesian view, in this connection, would be that national income which is probably nothing but the money value of the national output with some of the consumption taxes (*e.g.*, sales taxes) deducted has employment as its constant function other things being equal. If, under certain circumstances, this national income is not adequate for full employment, and has to be increased, supply of the national output should also be proportionately increased if there is to be no inflation. The National Income provides, as an economist says, the joint demand for the

products and services of the factors of production and is simply the national output upside down as looked at, from the point of view of the consumer. Demand ordinarily means the quantity demanded at a certain price. Here, we would deduce that there is equilibrium when there is equation of supply with demand at ordinary existing market prices. For our ideal, there should be Full Employment at equilibrium.

Now-a-days we are living in an age of plans and people would like to have an objective of Fiscal Policy and this, for ordinary purposes, has been outlined in an usually acceptable form in the preceding paragraph. Many economists would prefer to have a compensatory Fiscal Policy which aims at equilibrium at Full Employment and means to resort to, compensatory spending, signifying increment of national income and extra expenditure by Government in excess of ordinary taxation. Naturally as a means to an end, this bespeaks of planning regarding expenditure, public debt, taxation and economy of the community.

The Economic and Social Council of the U.N.O. appointed a Committee of Experts and they brought out a scheme according to which each government should announce a comprehensive programme for directing its fiscal and monetary policies, its investment and productive planning and its wage and price policies to the continuous achievement of its Full Employment objective. The methods sponsored appear to be of a duplicate character. First of all, it might be one of stabilisations which could be achieved by reduced taxation, stabilisation and private investment through bank controls and variations of condition of credit, offering tax concessions or subsidies to firms, government co-operation in the establishment of long range investment programmes in such industries as railroads, and co-ordinations of public investment programmes. Consumption could be obtained by changing incidence of taxation, by expanding programme of social security and transfer payments, by raising standards of social expenditure and on education and health and so on. Control of monopoly prices might serve the purpose of increasing consumers' demand through the reduction of profit margin. Price control may also be used to effect a more equitable distribution of income. Thus, it appears initially attempt may be made by tinkering methods to increase effective demand and national income for the matter of that, including consumption of private individuals. The same income will be utilised in such a way that it may lead to further income. In case this does not achieve the end, compensatory spending is to be resorted to. To get increased effective demand or national income for compensatory measures, initially resort is to be

had to income taxes, social security contribution taxes or sales and purchase taxes. It is also said that compulsory war savings, etc., may be released for the purpose. Increase of national income by resorting to taxes ostensibly can only be made by utilising that portion of private income which would be saved. Consequently, I believe only these consumption taxes would be useful which would be imposed on article of inelastic demand. Income taxes also may be of the type. This composite policy of aiding stabilisation through compensatory spending taxes appears to have been sponsored by the Beveridge Scheme in England. Miss New Comer has also spoken of this method in her book on Taxation and Fiscal Policy. Apart from this, we know, however, that some economists are in favour of increasing national income by deficit spending and public borrowing. Mr. Harris in his book on Public Debt appears to have favoured increase of national income through public borrowing. It is only to be seen, that the debt is not excessively high and that the interest charge is not disproportionately great in comparison to the national income, *i.e.*, to say that the national debt can be redeemable. It was further recommended that anti-inflation measures should be adopted specially on the ground that healthy economic systems free from inflationary and deflationary tendencies would minimise necessity of emergency counter-measures.

It may be stated in this connection that recently there has been a tendency towards absence of faith in a Full Employment policy. This being supposed to be specially unworkable in an under-developed country like India. Mr. Hicks has propounded a thesis regarding a trade cycle. It appears, it is believed that there is steady economic growth in a society. If saving goes on remaining equal to investment according to the special significance of Mr. Kahu equilibrium will continue to be maintained even if there be growth. Here investment relates to current investment whereas saving is estimated on the basis of income of the previous period less consumption of the present. Saving however, must continue to be a function of national output and naturally with increasing national output saving also will be increasing.

This equilibrium is not always accompanied with Full Employment. There is some cause of displacement or other, from the equilibrium path and that may lead to a boom. There may be Full Employment when the ceiling is reached. Inevitably expansion will be checked by real scarcities and inflation may not be acute or unlimited. The difficulty is that a free cycle that is what is uninterfered with, will be explosive and it will end of itself and the downward movement will go and there will be no net induced investment. Thus Full Employ-

ment would bring with it, economic calamity. Consequently, it is better to attempt to stick to the equilibrium path although there may not be Full Employment and there should be continuous carefulness so that causes of displacement may not be effective. While speaking in the Delhi School of Economics Mr. Hicks spoke about the inapplicability of the Keynesian theory of approaching Full Employment by raising effective demand. Keynes, according to him, relied on stickiness or rigidity of wages so that increased national income might lead to absorption of the unemployed. Actually, however, the constant real wages that Keynes stood for, may not according to him really prove practically applicable specially in an agricultural economy for here prices may increase and customary wages may lag behind. Increase of effective demand may not therefore, contribute to absorption of unemployment. Further, from the admirable analysis of Mr. Wallich made in an article contributed by him to the American Economic Review, December, 1950, read with Mr. Hick's views it would appear that in an under-developed country unemployment may result from lack of sufficient savings for absorption of resources as well as from a lack of complementary resources—machinery or raw materials. Full Employment can be attempted to be reached only if the country can borrow from abroad for utilisation of unemployed resources as well as for making good the deficiency in complementary resources. Thus here, increase of effective demand and for the matter of that of necessary resources is very difficult to procure. Unemployment arising from normal labour turnover is another difficulty in this connection. It is suggested that there may be a considerable amount of economic expansion but the danger of population increasing more rapidly is patent in an under-developed country. Consequently, chronic unemployment may continue to mount.

Mr. Wallich makes a comparative estimate and says that behind the ideal of Full Employment there are complementary or competition objectives, *e.g.*, high output stability, a fair distribution of income, personal freedom and economic growth. We have also tried to analyse this. He also says that somewhere in the road to extreme Full Employment "a parting of the ways is reached" when the objectives cannot go hand in hand. "Economic growth, productivity, efficiency, etc., suffer in the end from consequences of Full Employment in the long run probably more than in the short." It is this conflict between growth and employment that today becomes a major concern. He, however, boldly comes to the conclusion that Full Employment should undoubtedly be "given preference over economic growth." It is only in a time

of continuous threat of war that an attempt to achieve Full Employment "at the expense of economic growth may mean disaster." In view of the arguments advanced, and the economic welfare (some interpersonal considerations being also taken into account) consequent thereto, one cannot but subscribe to the views favouring Full Employment. In an article contributed to a comparatively recent issue of the American Economics Review, if I remember aright, Mr. Pigou also spoke about the difficulties connected with equitable distribution of income and accumulation of sufficient savings but he also suggested that we could not possibly sit idle while the question of unemployment loomed large at a short distance. We have already spoken of the difficulties in an under-developed country but that is no reason why the ideal should be discarded. The special difficulties may be attended to. Population problem may be tackled and increase of national income should be, as far as possible, provided for. Needless to say, the question of stabilisation through private investment should be of primary concern as well. One point which requires classification is this, that stabilisation through increase of consumers' demand, social security measures, etc., is best resorted to, in a mature economy and economically advanced countries; in under-developed countries, however, it is best to increase national income,—where it is not ordinarily forthcoming, by borrowing,—otherwise by taxation and the increased national income should be best utilised in investment till the stock of capital ceases to be scarce! Undoubtedly, although stress, in these countries, should be given on production 'wisest course' as Keynes says 'is to advance on both fronts at once.' We cannot thoroughly neglect the question of standard of living and standards of consumption services, *e.g.*, health or educations.

In India, the Congress Working Committee impressed upon the desirability of setting up a Planning Commission and the Government of India actually established it by a resolution of March, 1950, with certain objectives—the main being—in pursuance of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed and directive principles enunciated under the constitution of India—promotion of a rapid rise in the standard of living by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, making assessment of the human and other resources of the country and formulation of a plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources and the techniques and machinery to be adopted for attaining the results. The Planning Commission actually took into account the question of priorities we have discussed, but did not believe an anti-thesis between economic growth and Full Employment. Believing that

an expanding and diversified economy is the best guarantee for Full Employment, it however, recounted the difficulties noted above regarding attainment of Full Employment in an under-developed economy with its paucity of resources and inadequate labour turnover under crushing over population and therefore could not take it (Full Employment) as an immediate objective. Naturally, it pinned on an increase in the output of essential consumption goods; at the same time it took into account the question of technique—the development of cottage and small-scale industries and large-scale investment by the State for basic development. Thus the question of economic stabilisation and compensatory spending was taken into account; due to the democratic set-up, however, it is expected that the State would make venture in new enterprises only and the economy would be guided and directed by the State and operated partly through direct State action and partly through private initiative and efforts in keeping with the already enunciated industrial policy of 1948. The Commission also took into account the question of economic welfare, the reduction of inequality of incomes and also an anti-inflationary policy as far as consistent with the main objectives.

This background is necessary to know in a nut-shell what the economy stands for, and how the State should spend and how it should have its revenues and distribute them amongst several units. In the seventies of the nineteenth century the British system of administration introduced Budget by assignments to Provinces for the sake of economy budgetary figures of previous periods providing the nucleus; this was improved upon by the method of divided heads and shared revenues in the eighties—the Provinces having been in charge of certain revenue yielding subjects, others going to the Central Government—revenues on some heads being shared again by Provinces and the Central Government; in 1919, under the Montague-Chelmsford scheme this was further modified; so long the method of sharing revenues was given effect to, by administrative orders but now this was embodied in legislation and the system thus evolved led to what might be called separation of revenues—some classes of revenues were given over to Provinces and some to the Central Government. Needless to say, provision had to be made for assignments from Provinces and Lord Meston suggested that practically the Central Government was morally entitled to the assignments because it was deprived of some revenues which it had been actually enjoying so long. The Otto Niemeyer Report of 1936 based its findings on budgetary figures and read them with certain considerations such as establishment of Famine and Road Funds and aid to Assam

Rifles in Assam and so forth. The Divided Heads of Revenues were reinstated and Income tax was proposed to be shared with the Provinces, along with Jute Export Duty. From this account, it will be noticed that we cannot exactly trace any Fiscal Policy although in the nineteenth century there was a great attempt made at improving local amenities including Education and Health. The system was based more on practical issues and economy and budgetary figures of previous periods supplied the basis. With the advent of independence and possibilities of a better background of a Fiscal Policy adumbrated by the new Constitution under fundamental rights and directive policies, the perspective of achieving sufficient funds and for the matter of that of distributing the revenues amongst the different units would be naturally different from what it was previously. As we have already referred to, the stabilisation method includes stabilisation of private investment and raising of standard of social expenditure on Education and Health and so on. But as we have also indicated, this in many cases has to be supplemented with compensatory spending if necessary and probably because of backwardness of economy, consumption standards may not be best improved upon and should give place to production activities. Presumably, therefore, in an under-developed economy like that of India, primarily attention will have to be more closely diverted to production for achievement of a correct Fiscal Policy. The question of standards is one of crucial importance and the ideal should not be allowed to recede to the background. If adequate funds be forthcoming naturally the question of distribution of revenues amongst the different units can be satisfactorily dealt with and some method or other can be found out for the purpose. The difficulty arises when we are not wedded to any practical planning and for the matter of that when that planning has not thoroughly worked out its results. Consequently, if the question of distribution comes in, that has to be decided on the basis of facts and the revenues that can be availed of, in the present. The modern trend of opinion regarding distribution referred to, is well represented in the view of Mr. Maxwell as expressed in his book on Fiscal Import of Federalism in U.S.A. read with Mr. Withers's book on Public Finance. In a Federation, the homogeneity which is comparatively probable in an unitary state, cannot be expected to exist amongst the different parts; moreover, some sort of regional heterogeneity exists and democratic freedom is expected to prevail in each region both leading to the conclusion that a measure which is for the national interest as a whole may not be supposed to bring in equal benefits and result to each state.

Nonetheless, the heterogeneity cannot be expected to be so great as to make a national policy untenable. The unavoidable absence of ideal equilibrium can only be attempted to be remedied as far as possible. We have already referred to the question of a national fiscal policy. In everyday business of life this type of policy may not be feasible specially so, when the funds necessary are not forthcoming and when the difficulty appertaining to an under-developed country is so over-whelming.

(To be continued.)

A LATIN QUOTATION IN INDRANATH'S "KALPATARU"

DR. KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI, M.A., D.LITT.

Indranath Banerji was one of the brightest stars in the Bankim-galaxy.* While reviewing Indranath's *Bharat Uddhar* which was published under the pseudonym of Ramdas Sharma in the columns of the *Vangadarshana*, Bankimchandra said: "Ramdas Sharma is not unknown to us. We made his acquaintance through the *Kalpataru*.† We are among his "my dears."‡ In the course of a long appreciation of the *Kalpataru* in the *Vangadarshana* Bankimchandra wrote: "Babu Indranath Banerji has made himself entitled to a place among the stalwarts of Bengali literature by bringing out a single book. In sparkling wit, in the observation of human nature and in the matter of wielding a facile pen he is in no way inferior to Tekchand Tagore and Hutom. Hutom, though powerful, is remarkable for his cynicism, his vilification of others, his enmity with morality, and his constant war against decency and propriety. Babu Indranath is full of sympathy for the sufferings of others, the supporter of morality and his book is not opposed to propriety and decency. His mastery of his craft and the excellence of his style are conspicuous by their absence in the *Alaler Gharer Dulal*, his power of expression is not there. In his work the sly, sweet smile of the fondness for seeing the funny side of things shines forth in every line; the arch look of the shrewd observer that is perceptible at every step in the corner of his eyes is not found either in Hutom or in Tekchand—in neither of them. His work is replete with gems—pearls and corals and the like are shooting forth their effulgence everywhere. He does not indulge in drunken orgies like Hutom, yet the stream of sparkling wit never ceases to flow, and that wit is never coarse, but sweet and ever easy to bear. *Kalpataru* is one of the best books in the Bengali language."

Indranath Banerji was a master of the English language and his knowledge of French also was considerable. During his studies in the

* In Alan Leo's *1001 Notable Nativities* Indranath is described as "the Mark Twain of Bengal."

† There is a pun on the word "*Kalpatarumūle*" here. It means "through the novel of the name of *Kalpataru*" as also "at the foot of the wish-yielding tree."

‡ Ramdas, a character in the *Kalpataru*, often used the expression "my dear."

Missionary colleges he must have picked up some knowledge of Latin also, and on the title-page of the *Kalpataru* there is a Latin quotation which appears to have missed the attention it deserves. The quotation bears clear traces of the pranks of the printer's devil and is printed as follows :

———— Et me fecere poetam
 pierides; * * * * me quoque dicunt
 vatem pastores : sed non ego credvius illis :
 Name neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinnt
 Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.”

Virgil

The passage is from Virgil's *Eclogue IX* (32-36) and the correct reading along with the fairly literal translation of Royds (Everyman's Library) is given below :—

Et me fecere poetam
 Pierides; sunt et mihi carmina : me quoque dicunt
 Vatem pastores : sed non ego credulus illis;
 Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinna
 Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

“The Muses made
 Me too a singer, yea, I too have songs
 And shepherds call me bard. I trust them not.
 For I, methinketh, utter nought as yet
 Worthy of Varius's or Cinna's muse;
 I gabble goose-like 'mid those swans of song.”

It will be noticed that Indranath omits the sentence : *sunt et mihi carmina*, ‘I too have my songs,’ because before composing the *Kalpataru* he had merely written the *Utkrishta Kavyam* (‘A first-rate poem’). The poem, as the name implies, was written in fun and ended with the following English words :

“Should journal editors pass this production without notice, they will have to exculpate themselves from the charge of being called too proud; on the other hand, any criticism, though never so mild, will call forth no less a satire than *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.” “Genius lurks in this trash (?)”*

In the lines quoted from Virgil Lycidas mentions Varius and Cinna—two contemporary poets. But too much stress need not be laid on the contemporary character of the poets. Indranath appears to have been thinking of Bharatchandra Ray and Michael Madhusudan Dutta. In the *Kalpataru* itself he refers to Bharatchandra as the “Vangīya

* This is a quotation from memory, as these lines have not been reprinted in the Vangavasi edition of Indranath's complete works.

Kaviguru" or the doyen of Bengali poets: "If the *bakula* tree planted by the imagination of the doyen of Bengali poets had existed to this day, then Narendranath would not have taken his seat anywhere except under it." In the *Annada Mangal* of Bharatchandra we find reference to the *bakul* tree over and over again. In the *Bharata Uddhara* Indranath speaks of Vālmīki and Homer at the beginning of Canto I, but in Canto IV he names Madhusudan and Hemachandra and Navinchandra:—

কিন্তু কে সে কবিগুরু যার ধ্যান করি?
 নহে সে বাণ্মীকি, নহে পৌরাণিক কেহ,
 অমিল-পদ-সুদন শ্রীমদুসুদন
 —মৃত, তবু শ্রী বাহার না যাইবে কভু
 —নহে ত এ কবিগুরু, নহে হেমচন্দ্র,
 নবীন, প্রবীণ কিংবা; কেহই সে নহে।
 বাস্তবিক কবিগুরু বলিয়া জগতে
 কাহাকেও নাহি মানি। কেন বা মানিব?
 আপনি লিখিব কাব্য পরিশ্রম করি,
 সুবশ, অবশ যাহা হইবে আমার,
 অনাদৃত কাব্য যদি, মদ্রাব্যয় মম,
 তবে কেন অন্য জনে গুরু হৈন মানি?
 তথাপি এ স্তুতিধ্যান করিলাম কেন
 সুধাও আমারে যদি, অবশ্য উত্তর
 সন্তোষ-জনক তার প্রদানিতে পারি;
 —গ্রন্থ-কলেবর শুদ্ধ করিতে বন্ধন।

Of course if we insist on the two poets being his contemporaries they might have been Michael Madhusudan and Hemachandra.

Incidentally we may mention a few more cases of misquotation from Latin. Whenever in Bengali books we find quotations from Sanskrit or Latin the chances are ten to one that there should be some mistake. Bengali writers who quote from these languages do not generally do so with a view to showing off their learning. They are generally good scholars, but owing to the highly inflectional character of these languages and the ignorance of the compositors errors are apt to creep in.

2. In an article on the glow-worm in the *Vangadarshana* (Jyāistha, 1284 B.S.) we come across the line—*Hora non numero nisi serenas*. It is an inscription on sun-dials and means literally "Hours I do not count unless they are bright," i.e., I count none but shining hours. Here the word 'hora' is the object of the verb 'numero' and the acc. pl. of 'hora' is 'horās,' just as the acc. pl. of 'serena' is 'serenās.' So we should read here 'horās' for 'hora.'

3. In Bankimchandra's *Krishna-Charitra*, Part IV, Chap. IV, we find *Similia Similibus Curanter*. Before the rise of Homoeopathy the motto of physicians was *Contraria Contrariis Curantur*, i.e., Contraries are cured by contraries. But homoeopaths changed it into *Similia Similibus Curantur*. 'Similia' is the neut. nom. pl. of 'similis,' 'similibus' the abl. pl. of the same word and 'curantur' the 3rd per. pl. pass. indicative of 'curare' to heal. So the dictum means—'Like things are cured by likes' and 'curanter' is an error for 'curantur.' This mistake is probably due to the similarity in the old style pronunciation of the two words 'curantur' and 'curanter.'

The reader must not run away with the idea that such errors are the monopoly of Bengali writers. In English books and newspapers also we meet with erroneous Latin quotations from time to time. In Edgar Wallace's *Elegant Edward*, Chap. III, we read : " 'The world,' says Professor Fellowman : 'neglects its geniuses. It allows men of my talent to starve, whilst it gives fortunes to the charlatan, the faker and the crook. O mores, O tempores!' " Cicero declaimed against the perversity of the men of his time with the words : " O tempora! O mores!" 'Oh the times, Oh the manners.' *Tempora* is the vocative plural of the neuter noun *tempus* 'time' and *mores* the vocative plural of the masculine noun *mos*. So *mores* is grammatically correct, but *tempores* is a monstrosity based on *mores*.

Several years ago one newspaper wrote : " Of Mr. H. V. Austin's article in the *Daily Mail* one can say that it was the best sermon that has been delivered for a long time (clergy, please copy) with the text of *Mensa sana in corpore sano*." The quotation is from Juvenal's *Satires* (X. 356) and should read thus : *Mens sana in corpore sano*, i.e., a sound mind in a sound body. The truly wise man asks of God health of mind as well as health of body. Sanskrit *matih* appears in Latin as *mens* (Gen. *mentis*) meaning 'mind.' *Mensa* is a different word altogether, meaning 'table.' The mistake here is due to the fact that students generally begin the study of Latin grammar with the paradigm of *mensa*.

Round the World

Extra-territoriality in Japan

At the time of writing a controversy is going on between the British Government and the Government of Japan over the term of imprisonment awarded by a local High Court in Japan to two British army men. They were accused of several offences including stealing. The guilt was established in the Court and consequently it ordered their imprisonment for a fairly long period. The news was publicised in Britain and a protest was lodged with the Japanese Government by the British Foreign Office through diplomatic channel. From the tangled reports available to us it is not exactly clear as to what the grounds of protest are. One of them is that the punishment awarded is excessive. But a more fundamental one seems to be that a Japanese Court has no jurisdiction over the offenders. We do not know if protest was made categorically on this ground. But from the trends of reports it seems that the British contention is that if the British armymen committed any offences, the matter ought to have been brought to the notice of their Commander who would have taken necessary action. It should be known in this connection that after regaining an independent status recently the Japanese Government entered into a treaty to this effect with the Government of the U.S.A. but no treaty has yet been signed with Britain in this regard. In the absence of a treaty the Japanese courts have certainly full jurisdiction over all cases of this character. It will not, therefore, be proper for the British Government to make any protest on the ground of lack of jurisdiction of the Japanese courts. It is, however, open to the British Ambassador to make representation to the Japanese Government or even to lodge a protest with it on the ground of excessive punishment. The Japanese public opinion is very sensitive on the question of interference by foreign governments and their agents in the administration of justice in their own country. The capitulations of the last century still rankle in the memory of the Japanese people. Imposed in unsettled days in the late fifties of the last century, they could be done away with only after persistent efforts of forty years. Evidently the Japanese people will resent the reintroduction of extra-territorial privileges in any form for foreigners.

Indian History Congress

Next session of the Indian History Congress will be held during Christmas holidays in Gwalior. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji will be the General President of the session and the Sectional Presidents include Dr. R. G.

Basak (up to 711 A.D.), Dr. A. L. Srivastava (1526 to 1764 A.D.) and Dr. V. G. Dighe (from 1765 A.D.). All historical scholars have been invited by the General Secretary of the Congress, Dr. P. C. Gupta, to contribute papers and make the session a success. Papers should reach him in triplicate by the 15th September. They should not exceed ten pages typed with double spacing. Old and prospective members have also been requested to send their subscription fees to the Treasurer, Dr. A. C. Banerjee.

The Indian History Congress has now been in existence for fifteen years and during this long period it has given considerable stimulus to historical study and research. Indian history is not an easy subject. Perhaps the history of very few countries is as tangled as the history of this ancient land. Its dark corners are many and the information available in respect of many known and familiar periods and episodes has also given rise to great controversies. In view of these facts the object should be to study the various aspects of our history from as many angles and standpoints as possible. Many people in this country which achieved independence after so long a period of foreign rule are naturally inclined to study the history of its past. They will be helped a good deal in this venture if it could be brought home to them as to what is fact and what is fiction. A body like the Indian History Congress is to take up this responsibility and give necessary guidance to both laymen and scholars who feel today an enthusiasm for studying the history of their country.

Colour Bar

One of the reasons which have made Russian communism so attractive to a large section of Asian and African peoples is the elimination of colour prejudice in the Soviet Union. It is, of course, too early to speculate whether in the future it will assert itself even in that country. But from all reports it is clear that not only at the present moment any such prejudice would be regarded as anti-social and even counter-revolutionary but what is more inter-marriages between different racial groups has become so common as to ensure steady and normal social intercourse between these groups in the future. In this regard Communist Russia is certainly making a definite contribution to the growth of civilisation. We wish the leading democratic countries and their governments took a leaf out of the book of the Soviet Union and declared a crusade against the virus of colour prejudice. In Britain we have had so far no indication of such a desire. Whenever in the United Nations Indo-South African issue has been raised, Britain's delegate has taken up to all intents and purposes the cause of South Africa, in other words of the colour bar. In this Dominion for some weeks past a widespread movement against racial laws has been started on the basis of full cooperation between the Indian settlers and the indigenous African inhabitants. Now and again

British newspapers have commented on happenings in South Africa and on occasions have guardedly criticised Malan's Government, not, however, for its maintaining colour bar but for going to extremes and particularly for violating entrenched clauses in the Constitution. It is true that here and there some individual Britishers have given vent to their feelings but their noble outbursts have counted for nothing in British social circles, and certainly have had no influence with the Government.

In the United States also the movement in South Africa has not made much of an impression. This country has been since colonisation by Europeans singularly colour-conscious. Despite words used in the Declaration of Independence and repeated as a text in all schools from year to year inequality has remained the keynote to social and political practice in the U.S.A. Very few whitemen happen now to accept the citizens of black origin as their equals. Much progress has no doubt been made of late in this regard but there still exist thick crusts of prejudice which it may not be easy to eliminate shortly. Apartheid has in fact been practised, particularly in the Southern states, unashamedly since slavery was abolished. In view of this it is but natural that the civil disobedience movement now going on in South Africa against apartheid should not get either much publicity or encouragement among American people. It is, however, good to remember in this connection that all North America is not indifferent to what is happening in South Africa today. In Canada a large labour organisation with five hundred thousand members has declared itself unreservedly against the policy of the Malan Government. It has appreciated the significance of the stand which Indian settlers and Africans have now taken against the race-arrogance of the white government imposed upon them by force. It is hoped that sooner or later whitemen in other parts of the world will also appreciate that this is not the age when any body or institution may assume an air of superiority on the ground of race and colour.

Dignity of Labour

Miss Frances Perkins who was the first woman Cabinet member in the United States of America and served in this capacity for twelve years during the Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt published a few years ago a book entitled 'The Roosevelt I knew.' In this work she has referred to the years of the great depression whose ravages Roosevelt did so much to ameliorate. One of the steps taken in this regard consisted in providing money relief to the unemployed and another in providing work at a particular rate for them. Miss Perkins gives in her book two illustrations as to how people reacted to such relief. An elderly man who had to support a large family was given a dole of fifteen dollars per week: "He went out regularly without being asked, to sweep the streets of his village.

'I want to do something in return for what I get,' he said." Again in respect of work provided, she observes, "thousands of the most respectable groups had to accept it and were deeply grateful for the opportunity to maintain their self-respect. An almost deaf, elderly lawyer, a Harvard graduate, unable to find clients, got a WPA job as assistant caretaker at a small seaside park. He did double the work anyone could have expected of him. He made little extra plantings, arranged charming paths and walks, acted as guide to visitors, supervised children's play, and made himself useful and agreeable to the whole community. I had occasion to see him from time to time, and he would always ask me to take a message to the President—a message of gratitude for a job which paid him fifteen dollars a week and kept him from starving to death."

Gleanings from H. A. L. Fisher's Autobiography

[H. A. L. Fisher whose History of Europe has become a classic was a noted British scholar, historian and statesman. As Modern History Tutor in New College, Oxford, he made a name for himself. His reputation was not confined only to educational and scholarly circles of Oxford alone. In 1912 he was included in the Royal Commission on the Civil Services in India. When Asquith's Government fell towards the close of 1916 and Lloyd George was called upon to form the new Ministry, Fisher was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield. It was from there that he was invited by the new Prime Minister to take a hand in practical politics and administration. The office of President of the Board of Education was offered to and accepted by him. From 1917 to 1922 he remained in the Cabinet in this capacity. With the defeat of Lloyd George's Government in the autumn of the latter year, Fisher became for a time a free lance. But in 1925 call came from his old college where he had been educated and where he had taught with so much reputation. He became the Warden of the New College and fifteen years later died in harness. Sometime before his death he had started writing his Autobiography. Only a few chapters had, however, been written when death overtook him. This unfinished work was edited and published by his wife in 1940. It contains reflections on many aspects of academic life and on aspirations and achievements of scholars. In order that they may provoke thinking, we are giving below a few quotations from this work.]

The Academic Life

"To an ambitious young Englishman, who succeeds in winning a College Fellowship, a life of lettered ease appears at first to offer a prospect of endless enchantments. His appetite for knowledge is fresh and keen. He is powerfully excited by the beauties of literature. The joy of experimenting with his pen on paper, of 'revelling,' as Disraeli calls it, 'in the sunshine of composition,' is vrey strong. He dreams

of writing plays and novels or great masterpieces of history, or elegant essays, and is bewildered by the multiplicity of writers who simultaneously exert upon his mind a powerful attraction. To master and to expound to others some important aspect of human knowledge is an ambition which fulfils for many years the cravings of his nature. A difficult book, presenting a real gymnastic problem to the intellect, can keep him bound to his desk for hours so that he either misses his midday meal or works far into the morning. In the years between twenty and thirty the pleasures of the intellect may well be all sufficient. Every hour opens fresh prospects and brings fresh conquests. In some moods, the life of learning appears to satisfy every need and every ambition.

Yet I may judge from my own experience there is always a haunting feeling that learning and scholarship and the lettered life can bring content only if combined with some more practical form of active service to the community. Men of the highest genius do not, I dare say, feel this, but the ordinary Englishman craves for action, and even the most strenuous form of action involved in educational work ceases after some years to fulfil his need. When the first excitements of the intellectual life have worn themselves out, and the pleasure of the chase is abated, he struggles to find an escape from the library into the open air of the common life. Administration, politics, travel, philanthropy lure him away from his books.

My own ambitions as a young Oxford graduate were firstly to make myself an effective teacher of history, and secondly, to maintain the repute of British scholarship by making sooner or later some contribution to historical knowledge. Clio is an exacting muse. To combine effective historical teaching with real research imposes a severe drain on the energies. And yet there was always the tantalizing, haunting feeling that youth was passing away with its pleasures, its opportunities, its call for practical service, and that the real salt of life, only to be tasted in the animating surges of the outer world, had been missed."

Teachers and the State

Fisher as President of the Board of Education introduced far-reaching changes in educational organisation.

"One major change might perhaps have been introduced without, in the state of the public mind at that time, exciting violent controversy. Had I proposed that the teachers should be made civil servants, that they should be appointed, paid, and pensioned by the State, I could probably have carried my point. The suggestion had been thrown out at more than one educational conference. It offers certain palpable attractions, and for a moment I toyed with the idea. But on a closer view the policy disclosed such a prospect of danger to educational freedom and to a wholesome variety of experimentation, such a menace to local responsibility and so formidable an accretion of work and power to the Board at Whitehall, that I dismissed it from my mind. It is better that the teaching body in a country should be ill distributed, unevenly paid, and imperfectly qualified than that it should be thought to march to the orders of a government in a London."

Education in Domestic Science for Girls

An excellent working class mother of a family in Sheffield said to Mr. Fisher: "I do not want my daughter to be taught cooking and practical things like that. Her whole life will be made up of practical duties. I want her to learn something entirely different and far away from the humdrum tasks of a working-class wife and mother."

Universities and the State

...
 "Though university education in England had been singularly retarded, it enjoyed one advantage denied to most foundations for the higher learning in other countries. No university in England, and this observation applies to Scotland also, had been founded by the State. Our ancient and modern universities were all the outcome of private enterprise. They were self-governing independent republics, free to direct their own studies and to enforce their own discipline. Oxford and Cambridge, until 1917, lived on their private endowments. The newer universities were from the point of view of finance not equally fortunate. Though private benefactions had played in every case a part in their foundation they could not afford altogether to dispense with assistance from public funds. . . . The boon of academic freedom was fully understood and widely valued. Even universities which accepted grants from the State would have sacrificed their parliamentary moneys without demur rather than submit to dictation from the government. Experience, however, showed that such dictation was never attempted. . . . (Many educationists including the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford were opposed in the name of academic liberty to the acceptance of parliamentary money for the two ancient Universities. Fisher, however, was convinced as Education Minister that without grants from the Government these universities could not be run on an efficient basis. So he hit upon the plan of setting up a Royal Commission and persuaded Mr. Asquith, the former Prime Minister, whose prestige was great in university circles, to preside over it. It was on its recommendations that parliamentary grants were made to universities according to a procedure laid down by it.) The administration of the government grants to the universities and university colleges was entrusted, not to the Board of Education, whose jurisdiction did not extend over Scotland, but to a University Grants Committee composed of eminent academic people nominated in the first instance by the President of the Board of Education, but technically under the Treasury. The fear that government finance might involve government dictation has thereby been exorcised. The University Grants Committee has not indeed been without influence on academic policy. Having a synoptic view of all the universities and university colleges in Britain, it is in a position to make useful suggestions for the avoidance of overlapping and unnecessary duplication of effort and to communicate to one university experience gained from another. But the authority of the Committee has been by way of indirect influence only, and absolutely devoid of political bias. The successive chairmen, Sir William McCormick, Sir Walter Riddell, Sir Walter Moberly, have all been men of high academic standing and wide experience of university problems."

Reviews and Notices of Books

A Note on Buddhist Texts As Recommended by Asoka—By MM. V. Sastri. (A Rejoinder to Dr. B. C. Law's Review published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV. Nos. 1-4, July, 1948—June, 1949, pages 235-238).

This rejoinder was sent for publication in the *Indian Culture*, controverting Dr. B. C. Law's review of the abovementioned book compiled by me. But as the publication was put off on various pleas and as I could not wait indefinitely for its appearance in print, I am obliged to get it published in the present issue of the *Calcutta Review*, and my thanks are due to the Editorial Board for allowing me sufficient space for the purpose.

This little volume seeks to present before the reader an unpretentious compilation of certain sacred discourses of Lord Buddha treasured up in the original Pali texts, a compilation the contents whereof are envisaged in broad outlines in Asoka's Bhabru Edict. Whatever was thought necessary in the interest of clarity and perspicuity for a proper comprehension of the scope of the work has been put in a nutshell in a concise preface.

I am thankful, indeed, to Dr. Law for the portion of his review wherein come to our view some printing mistakes which escaped detection through lack of proper vigilance at the time of the rapid printing of the work. On page 3, para. 1, there is omission of *katame*. On page 5, para. 13, the *cheda* (full-stop) should be after *bhagavā*. On page 9, para 5, it is *pana* and not *puno*. On page 11, Text V, after *manomoneyyam* the concluding word of the third line, there has been an omission of a sentence, *katamam ca bhikkhave kāyamoneyyam*, forming the body of the fourth line of the text. On page 12, *bho* is a misprint for *kho*. On page 14, para. 5, *udakāvadhānam* should be *udakādhānam* (and not *udakādhānam*, as printed in Dr. Law's review). On page 15, para. 7, the omission of *pādehi* after *pacchimēhi pi*, though not impairing our understanding in the least in any way, must not be passed off in silence, as it is in tune with the style of the text. In the very same paragraph *ubbūḥhavābhijāto* is the correct form in place of *ubbūḥhāvābhijāto* (and not *ubbūḥhāvābhijato*, as wrongly represented by Dr. Law in his review). On page 17, paras. 13 and 17, *ahorattānusikkhi* should stand for *ahorattānusikkho*. These are the printing mistakes creeping in the body of the text of the work. That the list contains instances of printing mistakes and not errors of judgment will be clear even from a mere perusal of the relevant portions of the text and the translation. I am not inclined,

however, to save my own skin by courting "the dictum of the printers' devil" or by throwing such inaccuracies to the account of any weakness of the printing standard of the University, and I would call attention to the presence of such mistakes in profusion in the relevant portions of the very few pages of Dr. B. C. Law's review itself.

In his review referred to above, Dr. B. C. Law has pointed out a large number of cases which have, strangely enough, appeared to him as inaccuracies of grave nature. In fact, they cannot be held as such. I should like to point them out gradually. But before doing so, let me remind the readers that the texts collected by me are, as Dr. Law has also noted, *mainly* from the edition of the Pali Text Society, and that, in the case of the Vinaya Text, Oldenberg's edition is utilised (p. xii). It is not meant thereby that these editions only have been used by me.

According to Dr. Law, on page 3, para. 4, there should be *dukkha-samudayaṃ* for my reading *dukkhasamudayo*. Similarly, on page 4, para. 5, for my reading *dukkhanirodho* he wants *dukkhanirodham* (See also p. 4, paras. 8 and 9). The words *samudaya* and *nirodha* are masculine and certainly *dukkhasamudayo* and *dukkhanirodho* are far better than the other two, and as such preferable, though Oldenberg reads them in the neuter gender. And any one conversant with grammar and literature cannot but prefer here the reading given in my book in pursuance of the reading found in the Ceylon edition, where the relevant words are in the masculine gender.

Dr. Law notices that on page 4, para. 7, line 4, after *cakkhum udapādi*, there has been an omission of *ñāṇaṃ udapādi*. But it is not so. The fact is that *āṇaṃ udapādi* is here in the text, with the *ā* of the first word as a misprint for *ñā*. I fail to understand what has led Dr. Law to make a blunder which is more serious than his charge of an omission. The misprint *āṇaṃ* for *ñāṇaṃ*, coupled with another,—an uncalled-for *cheda* (full-stop) just before it, which Dr. Law has failed to notice,—does not justify a hyper-critical condemnation denouncing the misprint as an omission.

As regards my reading *abhinanduntī* (para. 5, page 13), Dr. Law maintains that the correct form should be *abhinandanti*. I may at once refer him to my source, Thera Paramānanda's edition of the Mahāvagga (Vinaya Piṭaka), 2480 [B.E., page 11, where the reading is *abhinanduntī*.

Again, Dr. Law says that on page 7, para. 2, *adhipaññāya* should be *adhipaññāye*. *Adhipaññāya* is the only reading here found in all the available editions at our disposal (including the P.T.S., of which Dr. Law appears to be an avowed advocate), occurring in the very same form twice in para. 2 and twice in para. 3. The remark of Dr. Law is perhaps an outcome of an error based upon a false analogy of the final 'e' in *adhisīle* and *adhicitte*.

On page 10, verse 8, the reading given by me is *ogāhane*. The acceptance of the reading *ogahana* pointed out by Dr. Law, though favoured by the Burmese version too, appears to be a bit dogmatic. The expression *ogāhane* ('a bathing place') is evidently an etymological descendant of Sk. *avagāhana*, and is warranted by grammar and philology. Metrical necessity as well does demand it, as appears to be conclusive from the Ceylonese text, which, curiously enough, reads the passage as *yogāhane thambho*. The vowel *o* of *yo* and that of the following word *ogāhane* having coalesced, there is the form *yogāhane*, though sometimes in graphic representation it is wrongly split into two separate words as *yo gāhane*. One may here remember *Kaccāyanā* (1. 2. 1): *Sarā sare 'lopam*, which Senart translates thus: "Les voyelles s'élident devant une voyelle".

According to Dr. Law, there should be *pāṇine* in place of *pāṇino* (presumably not *pāṇino*, as wrongly printed in the review) given by me on page 11, verse 14. Both the readings are correct from the bare view-point of grammar, prosody and usage. The reading *pāṇino* is accepted in preference to the reading *pāṇine*. Besides its kinship with Prakrit and Sanskrit, it is accepted by all the Pali grammarians and it is well justified by the strength of usage, keeping an equal pace with the prescription of the grammarians and far outweighing other optional forms sanctioned by this aphorism or that.

It is in Dr. Law's review that on page 12, line 3, there should be *soceyyām* in place of *moneyyām*. This observation is a glaring instance of misrepresentation. Evidently, Dr. Law's *soceyyām* and *moneyyām* are misprints for *soceyyāni* and *moneyyāni* respectively. After necessary corrections for these misprints his observation amounts to advising the substitution of *soceyyāni* for *moneyyāni*. A careful perusal of the text of the entire *Moneyyasutta*, based on a close observation of the cardinal points of the topics treated before and after, will demonstrate in clear and bold relief that the topic of the three kinds of *moneyya* constitutes the soul of the *Moneyyasutta*, and that is intended to be expressed in words of confirmation in the form of a conclusion at the end of any such discourse establishing what was expressed in the form of a general enunciation at the very beginning of the discourse. The words, '*imāni kho bhikkhave tīni moneyyāni*' are in perfect harmony and symmetry with the mould and form of the preceding topic dealing with the three kinds of *soceyya*, with the concluding words '*imāni kho bhikkhave tīni soceyyāni*'. It is not unknown to the readers of the original Pali text that any discourse of like nature generally begins with lines in the form of an enunciation stating the problem to be discussed and usually ends with lines in the form of a conclusion couched in the very same language used in the

enunciation with but little alteration in the syntactical construction, if any, though rare, and supplemented with an expletive of assertive force, such as *kho*. It is evident, therefore, that the line under discussion must be *imāni kho bhikkhave tīni moneyyāni*, even though the PTS edition clearly reads *soceyyāni* for *moneyyāni*. I could not, therefore, follow the PTS reading blindly here as in other cases elsewhere for reasons too powerful to be overlooked.

It is remarked by Dr. Law that on page 12, Text VI, "in the beginning after *pubbe*, *iccayasmā* (?) *Sāriputto* should occur" and that on page 13, verse 9, *Sāriputtā ti Bhagavā* has been omitted after *phāsu* (not *phāsi*, as printed in the review), and he adds that *Upatisapasina* is also known as *Sāriputta sutta*, *Therapāṇha sutta* and *Sāriputtapaṇha sutta*. Certainly, *iccāyasmā* of Dr. Law is a misprint for *iccāyasmā*, and evidently he means *iccayasmā Sāriputto* there. Indeed, the remark of Dr. Law advising the inclusion of *iccāyasmā Sāriputto* and denouncing the omission of *Sāriputtā ti Bhagavā* is without any justification. I have omitted the two expressions, as they do not form any part of the respective verses which are complete in themselves. This is manifestly clear from the metre and the sense.

It is stated by Dr. Law that *samavayasatṭhesano* or *samavayasa-ṭhesano* or *sañcavayasatṭhesano* should occur in place of *samavasatṭhesano*, as given by me on page 5, Text II, para. 1. This statement is a mere reproduction of the said three readings given in PTS edition. Be it an instance of manuscript corruption or confusion or scribal error, it appears quite clear from the various readings that the phraseology concerned remained rather obscure to the scribes. Of the three readings the first, *samavayasatṭhesano*, is found in all the available printed texts. The reading *samavayasatṭhesano*, a ponderous compound, unfamiliar to a far greater degree, has every chance of being taken for the *original* in the analogous expression *samavasatṭhesano*, an explicit compound, no less familiar, which accords so well with grammar and usage, approximating the generally accepted reading in sound and sense. The reading, though accepted by an overwhelming majority and current for long years probably on the strength of the explanation given in a concerted voice, as it were, by the commentaries *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* and *Saddhammapajjotikā*, remained rather obscure, as is clear from two other readings found elsewhere in the Aṅguttara Nikāya: *samaye visatṭhesano* and *samaye visatṭhesano*. It may also be noted here that the deduction of the sense agreed upon by the commentators appears to be a bit forced, if indeed the constituent elements as given in the explanation are carefully examined in a right spirit. Thus explains *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (Simon Hewavitarane Bequest, Vol. XIX, p. 770): *samavayasatṭhesano ti ettha avayā ti anūnā satṭhā ti nisatṭhā sammā avayā satṭhā esaṇā assā ti*. In *Saddhammapajjotikā*, the Comm. on the *Mahāniddeśa* (Simon H. Bequest,

Vol. X, p. 62) we find the explanation almost in the very same language: *samavayasatthésano* 'ti *ettha avayā ti anūnā satthā ti vissatthā sammā avayā satthā esanā assā ti samavayasatthésano ti*. Here *avayā*, meaning *anūnā*, may be regarded as an etymological descendant of Sanskrit *avyayāḥ*, a possessive compound ('not liable to change', 'imperishable', 'undecaying', 'not spending', 'parsimonious'). The word *avayā* is not found elsewhere in the whole range of Pali literature either as an independent word or as a member of a compound in this sense. Moreover, *anavaya* is found in the sense of *anūna* (paripūrṇakārin). How can these two contrarities agree? *Satthā* in the sense of *vissatthā* 'discarded', though rare, goes against the normal course. Further, the whole compound shows a queer combination of elements of irregular nature. The explanation, therefore, offered by the two commentaries in the very same language does not appear to be highly convincing, as will be clear from the desperate struggle that the reading *samavayasatthésano* has to face with its constituent elements to ransack and ransom the sense "one who has completely discarded all longing", a sense highly consistent with the expression *samavasatthésano* corresponding to Sanskrit *samavasṛṣṭaiṣaṇaḥ*. From a careful sifting of the materials at our disposal, the reading *samavayasatthésano* seems less plausible than the expression *samavasatthésano*, which is perfectly consistent with the sense universally agreed upon. And, I believe, if all available manuscripts are collated and the resulting text is subjected to the powerful scrutiny of the science of textual criticism as developed by our study of the ancient classics, the reading *samavasatthésano* will be there shining in all splendour.

Dr. Law has accused me of taking "some exact renderings made by previous translators without due acknowledgement". The words of acknowledgement made by me in the Preface (p. xiv) may briefly be referred to here: "I am indebted to my predecessors for what I have taken from their books". I fail to make out what has made Dr. Law lose sight of or pass off in silence these words of acknowledgement. Even if there were no such words of acknowledgement, the remark of Dr. Law would still remain untenable. It is not far from truth to say that scholars and readers interested in the study of the ancient Indian classical texts will, on a careful perusal of the texts and their English translation, not be slow to appreciate the difficulty of avoiding similarity of expression as used by the predecessor authors in their translation, specially of passages abounding in terms and expressions of technical nature, conventional phrases, expletives, honorifics and similar particles and so on. Considering the reputation of Dr. Law in the field, it is not too much to say that Dr. Law has had no small experience of evidences of such striking similarity of expressions in translations by different hands of the selfsame passages of any ancient Indian classical text

of the type we are concerned with; nor has it been at the same time his experience, we presume, that any such denunciation was ever levelled against any of them.

Dr. Law adds further that my English rendering of *Māra* is not comprehensive and thinks it his duty to invite the readers' attention to his article on the Buddhist conception of *Māra* published in the *Buddhist Studies* (Ed. B. C. Law), Ch. X, pp. 257 ff. While I appreciate the importance of the Buddhist conception of *Māra* in Buddhist studies, I am inclined to set very little store by it here in such a brief work where it has ever been my object to present before the readers 'Buddhist Texts as Recommended by Asoka' as faithfully and as briefly as possible. Never was it my intention to embarrass the simple readers with dreary details carried to fantastic extremes or to see them lost in a thorny wood of pedantry, 'seeking the way and straying from the way'. I have, therefore, sought to hold to an absolute minimum the number of references, quotations and annotations in the footnotes of the work. It was an over-riding sense of brevity that made me tag to the work six footnotes only. In the fifth footnote on page 25 appears the English rendering of *Māra* as "The Tempter, the Ruler of the highest of the *Kāmadevalokas*". This English rendering of *Māra*, I may add here, is a literal and faithful translation of a popular phraseology that seeks to treasure up the quintessence of the dissertations of the commentators of old.

It is said in the review that in my Preface I have "failed to give the exact reference to the *Samatapāsādikā* (?)", and it is added further that "the passage quoted in the footnote is taken from the *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 13". Evidently, *Samatapāsādikā*, as printed in the review, is a misprint; but it is not at all a matter of concern here. What concerns us here is the import or implication of the remark of Dr. Law. While this remark reflects some amount of discredit on the author of the book under review for his failure in giving the full reference to the *Samantapāsādikā*, does it in the same breath reflect an equal amount of credit, if not more, on the reviewer for his success in furnishing an obvious reference? Indeed, a scholar can, seldom succumb to this puerile fancy for such a credit. Following the text given by Oldenberg in his edition of *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. III, p. 289, one can localise the passage to *Samantapāsādikā* I, p. 13, without experiencing the least difficulty in giving the latent reference, as has been made much of by Dr. Law. I have intentionally given the reference as *Samantapāsādikā*, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. III, p. 289, simply because the text of *Vinaya Piṭaka* is within an easier reach and because the passage quoted does not appear to be the exclusive property of the *Samantapāsādikā*, being found also in other *Atthakathās* of Buddhaghosa. It may be mentioned here that in his zeal for giving a finish to the reference Dr. Law ought to have felt

the necessity of making mention of the particular edition of the work he was referring to in the review.

Towards the end of his review we find Dr. Law proceeding with a categorical statement that "the book is 'replete with innumerable printing mistakes', winding up thus with a list of five specimen examples: *Senert* for *Senart* (p. x); *pañca upadādhakhandhā* for *pañca upādānakhandhā*; *saññū* (and not *saññu* as printed in the review) for *saññā* (p. 23, f.n. 1); *open's* for *opens* (p. 23); *refram* for *refrain* (p. 39). These specimen examples supported by other instances of a similar nature do not appear to yield an evidence strong enough to justify his sweeping statement.

This rejoinder is already long. I cannot but regret it. I have been forced to descend into details, as I found it absolutely necessary to furnish my readers with such materials as might be deemed adequate for a proper estimate of the position of both the author and the reviewer.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Man in Evolution. By M. R. Sahnī. Orient Longmans Limited.
Price Rs. 8/12/-. Pp. xii + 272.

The book has grown out of talks which the author gave to young members of his family. In its present form it is however intended mainly for students of Geology, Anthropology and Zoology who are preparing for their B.Sc. degree.

The range of subjects covered is wide, for the field covered is from the origin of the earth to a more or less, detailed account of the evolution of Stone Age cultures in India and the adjacent countries. It is natural that while trying to compress the latest information on such a wide field, a few technical lapses may have occurred here and there. The most striking thing however is that the author has, more or less, succeeded in maintaining the readableness of the account till the very end; he has not permitted himself to be lost in Sands of technical detail.

This has been possible because Dr. Sahnī writes in a style enriched by vivid imagery and a keen sense of humour. One wishes that the hints thrown about the kind of life which man lived during the Stone Age had been developed a little further. That would have added more interest to the story. The printing and general get up are satisfactory and we hope the book will be welcomed by those for whom it is primarily intended.

Nirmalkumar Bose.

Towards Non-violent Socialism. By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing Works, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2/-.

The editor Bharatan Kumarappa writes in the preface, "Gandhiji dreamt of an India in which people would enjoy the greatest amount of freedom, and live on the principle of each for all and all for each, and where production would be according to the capacity of the individual and distribution according to his need."

This book contains a collection of Mahatmaji's writings arranged to form a logical whole so that the reader may have a clear idea as to what is implied by non-violent socialism. This is necessary because to the careless observer Gandhiji seems an unpractical idealist and his doctrines, however attractive, impossible of implementation in this world. Such people would have to change their views if only they care to study this book with an open mind.

Violence, Gandhism maintains, creates violence and he asserts that one cannot hope to win to his side either friends or enemies if he nourishes hatred towards them. What is needed to bridge the difference is a friendly approach and this be best done by trying to understand their feelings and aspirations and if they are based on truth and righteousness accepting them as one's own. He goes on to show that modern civilization is essentially urban and as such based on competition and exploitation. Modern amenities mean waste as these create something which is not necessary being required to satisfy human vanity only. In illustration he cites, the wearing of gold ornaments, precious stones, etc. When a section of the people is engaged in the production of such unnecessary things, it is only natural for much energy and capital to be diverted from essential production, as a consequence of which total production dwindles leading to shortage of essential commodities in the long run. Social adjustment, Gandhism asserts, cannot be brought about by the declaration of class war, because, this doctrine creates a mentality of non-co-operation. What humanity requires is a joint and concrete form of solidarity. He therefore advises decentralisation and the creation of small villages, where the units would be too small to remain disinterested in one another's welfare and where they will feel that individual safety is best attained where corporate safety has been secured. Machinery, he tells us, creates useless bondage and it is therefore better that man should do as much as he can without machinery. Machinery instead of creating human satisfaction has been the root of all trouble and modern machinery has been responsible for bringing into existence organisations like trusts and cartels, which cannot by their nature ensure total good or total welfare.

In his essay "Zamindars & Talukdars" Gandhiji writes, "There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalists of superfluities and of consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which, if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which, not even the armed forces that a powerful government can bring into play, can avert." In defining trusteeship, he states; "a trustee has no heir but the public." The idea is to

secure the best use of property for the people by competent friends. The modern definition of democracy 'a government of the people, by the people for the people' is too theoretical. A government must be for the whole people as it is a democracy, it must be of the people. But it is a fact that all the people are not equally competent, and so the idea of trusteeship arises. Modern democracies are trustees in the sense that the governing classes are elected by the people. But this machinery is not an ideal one; at least it has not been so all through the past centuries. So the best people should govern the whole people and, like the ancient Brahmins, they should not think they are the owners but the trustees. The idea of leaving a heritage creates selfishness and this therefore should be totally eschewed. For further illumination we may turn to Mahatmaji himself. In his essay on 'A Workers' Republic,' he writes, "I do not want anything more for workers and peasants than enough to eat and house and clothe themselves and live in ordinary comfort as self-respecting human beings. After that condition of things is brought about the brainiest among them will certainly manage to acquire more wealth than the rest. But I have told you what I want is that the rich should hold their riches in trust for the poor to give them up for them. Do you know that I gave up all my property when I founded Tolstoy Farm?" In fact, even to his last day, he owned nothing personally and so he left nothing to his heirs to inherit.

J. N. Mitra.

Ourselves

DR. TARAKNATH DAS

We extend a cordial welcome to Dr. Taraknath Das who will be on a short visit to India in the present month after an absence from the country for 47 years. While a youngman, he had been intimately associated with the national movement which had just then been started in this province and incurred the displeasure of the foreign Government then holding sway in India. It was by way of escaping from its clutches that he left Indian shores and went over to the United States *via* Japan. Although long absent from this country he has always appreciated the demand which India might make on his time and energy. In fact during the first World War he was put under arrest by the United States Government at the instance evidently of British agents on the ground of the practical interest he took in Indian freedom and was thereby supposed to work against the neutrality of the U.S.A. Although he has now been an American citizen for several decades, India has always occupied an important place in his mind and ungrudgingly he has spent time, energy and money in her interests and publicised her cause in America.

Dr. Das has been an ardent student of international affairs and has been associated with different Universities as a lecturer in his subject. In this capacity it has been also a mission with him to help Indian students in the United States of America in every way possible. In fact to many of them he has been a friend, philosopher and guide.

To the Calcutta Review he has been not only a contributor but also otherwise a friend practically since the time when the management of this journal was taken over by the University of Calcutta. He has not only published a number of his own papers through the medium of this Review but otherwise also he has served its interests. In view of this it gives us great pleasure in according him a cordial welcome on this short visit of his to India.

Before we close it is also appropriate for us to refer to the late high minded lady; Mary Keating Das, whom Dr. Das had the honour to marry. Her interest in India was also unflagging and her support of India's cause at crucial moments was highly commendable. It is certainly a matter of regret to us that when at last Dr. Das has the

opportunity of returning to India, though only for a short period, she is no longer with him.

In welcoming Dr. Das, we are welcoming not merely a scholar of repute but an ardent friend of India.

* * * * *

DR. M. GOODALL'S LECTURES

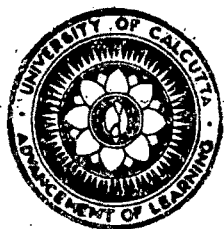
Dr. M. Goodall of the John Hopkins University, U.S.A., delivered two lectures on 'Trends in American Public Administration' and 'Education and Training for the Public Service' in August last in the Darbhanga Hall. Dr. Goodall is a specialist on Public Administration and his visit to this country has been sponsored by UNESCO.

* * * * *

DR. JAY SAUNDERS REDDING

Dr. Jay Saunders Redding of the Hampton Institute, U. S. A., delivered two lectures in the Darbhanga Hall last August on "The Negro Author—His Public and Publishers" and "Myths about Negroes."

* * * * *



Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. C/255/95/AH.

Dated the 18th August, 1952

It is notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from 1950-51, the Jangipur College, Murshidabad, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Commercial Geography and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects for 1952 and not earlier.

S. DATTA,

Registrar.

Calcutta University

Notification No. R/10/52/CSR

It is notified for general information that the following regulations regarding Chapter XXXV-A (Intermediate Examination in Science in Agriculture) have been sanctioned by Government :—

The following changes be made in Chapter XXXV-A

(Intermediate Examination in Science in Agriculture) of the Regulations :—

(i) In page 345 under Section 8, the words "Bengali and English Composition" under "Group IV—Languages" be replaced by the words "Composition in English and a Vernacular Language" and the following be added at the end of Group IV :—

"If the Vernacular of a candidate is a language which is not included in the list of Vernaculars for the Intermediate Examination in Science or for which there is no teaching arrangement in the college he shall have an Alternative Paper in English Composition in lieu of the paper for 'Composition in English and a Vernacular Language'".

(ii) Under Section 12 the heading "Bengali and English Composition" on page 354 be replaced by the words "Composition in English and a Vernacular Language," the words "Bengali Composition" in the Sub-heading "First Half—Bengali Composition" be replaced by the words "Composition in a Vernacular Language" and the word "Bengali" in lines 1, 2 and 3 thereunder be replaced by the word "the Vernacular".

(iii) The following syllabus for Alternative Paper in English Composition be inserted after the syllabus for Composition in English and a Vernacular Language :—

Alternative Paper in English Composition

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| (1) Two unseen passages to be summarised | ... 30 marks |
| (2) Amplification | ... 20 " |
| (3) Essay | ... 30 " |
| (4) Question on general composition | ... 20 " |

The above changes have been given effect to from the examination of 1952.

Senate House,
The 28th July, 1952.

S. DATTA,
Registrar.

UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

No. F. 12/29/50-E (JSW/July-50/R. No. 1099)

Post Box No. 186

New Delhi

From

The SECRETARY,

Union Public Service Commission

I am directed to inform you that the Union Public Service Commission have debarred Shri Ghamandi Singh (Murari Lal) from applying for all examinations and selections to be conducted by them in future. The particulars of the candidate are given below :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Name of the candidate | Shri Ghamandi Singh (Murari Lal). |
| 2. Examination for which he was a candidate | Joint Services Wing July, 1950 and January, 1951. |
| 3. Place of birth | Village Angai, Uttar Pradesh, |
| 4. Date of birth | 3-7-1933 |
| 5. Father's name and address | Shri Ram Singh (Deceased), Village Angai,
P.O. Baldeo, District Mathura. |
| 6. Reasons for debarring | (i) Tampering with the date of birth certificate
(ii) Forging a certificate |
| 7. Remarks | Debarred permanently from applying for all future examinations and selections to be conducted by the Commission. |

His candidature for the Joint Services Wing Examinations held in July, 1950 and January, 1951 has been cancelled.

B. SHUKLA

Deputy Secretary.

Union Public Service Commission

UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

No. F. 12/21/51/52-E (JSW/July-51/R. No. 1993)

Post Box No. 186

New Delhi

From

The SECRETARY,

Union Public Service Commission

I am directed to inform you that the Union Public Service Commission have debarred Shri Brij Lal from applying for any of the examinations and selections to be conducted by them up to the end of June, 1953. The particulars of the candidate are given below :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Name of the candidate | Brij Lal |
| 2. Examination for which he was a candidate | Joint Services Wing Examination, July, 1951. |

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 3. Place of birth | N.W.F.P. Peshawar (Pakistan) |
| 4. Date of birth | 1.7.1935 |
| 5. Father's name and address | Shri Ram Ditta Mal (Block No. 14. Quarter No. 5, Rajinder Nagar, New Delhi 5). |
| 6. Reasons for debarring | For forging Principal's signature on the certificate. |
| 7. Remarks | Debarred from applying for examinations and selections to be conducted by the Commission up to the end of June, 1953. |

His candidature for the Joint Services Wing Examination held in July, 1951 has been cancelled.

B. SHUKLA,

Deputy Secretary.

Union Public Service Commission.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Order.

The two candidates with Register Nos. 24 and 75 for the B.Sc. Degree Examination, held in March-April, 1952, having forged the initials of their Lecturers in their practical work records and presented them to the Examiners, the Syndicate has ordered that the results of the two candidates be cancelled and that they be debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for a period of two years and permitted to appear for the University Examination in March-April, 1954 or thereafter subject to the condition that they rejoin a college and produce fresh and genuine records.

Names of the candidates	Regd. Nos.
1. M. Satyanarayanaraju	24
2. M. Ramakrishnamraju	75

Sd_e Illegible,
Deputy Registrar.

CENTRAL BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, AJMER.

The following candidates whose particulars are given against each, having attempted to use unfair means at the Examinations of the Board for 1952 have been debarred from appearing at the Examinations of the Board noted against each :—

S.No.	Roll No.	Name of Candidate	Father's name	Name of institution from which appeared. In case of private candidates name of the place of residence.	Examination from which debarred.
<i>Intermediate Examination.</i>					
1.	272	Krishan Chandra	Ram Dayal	Govt. Hamidia College, Bhopal	Disqualified from the Inter. Exam. of 1952 & debarred from the Inter. Exam. of 1953.
2.	342	Uttam Chand Chhajjer	Suraj Mal Chhajjer	D.A.V. College, Ajmer.	Do.

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|-----|
| 3. | 3075 Banarsidas Goyal | Paras Ram | Nokha (Private) | Do. |
| 4. | 4012 Ravi Shankar | Tara Chand | Durg (Private) | Do. |
| | Pachauri | Pachauri | | |
| 5. | 5148 Narayan Ganga- | Ganga Ram | Thana (Private) | Do. |
| | ram Deshpande. | | | |

Intermediate Examination in Commerce.

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|--|
| 6. | 100 Milap Chand Jain | Gulab Chand | Sawai Mad hopur | Disqualified from the In-
ter. Com. Exam of 1952
& debarred from the In-
ter. Com. Exam. of 1953
and 1954. |
| | | Jain | (Private) | |
| 7. | 265 Anwar Ahmed | Mehboob Alam | Bhopal (Private) | Disqualified from the In-
ter. Com. Exam. of 1952
& debarred from the
Inter. Com. Exam. of
1953. |
| | Quraishi | | | |
| 8. | 488 Tufel Ahmad | Mohd. Fazal Haq | Govt. Hamidia | Disqualified from the In-
ter. Com. Exam. of 1952
& debarred from the
Inter. Com. Exams. of
1953 and 1954. |
| | Quraishi | | College, Bhopal | |

High School Examination.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. | 541 Moti Lal Matta | Ful Chand Matta | Udaipur (Private) | Disqualified from the
High School Exam. of
1952 & debarred from
the H.S. Exam. of
1953. |
| 2. | 603 Zorawar Singh | Kanya Lal | Udaipur (Private) | Disqualified from the
H.S. Exam. of 1952 &
debarred from the H.S.
Exam. of 1953. |
| | Kothari | Kothari | | |
| 3. | 668 Devi Chand Baiti | Bhanwar Lal | Bundi (Raj) | Do. |
| | | Baiti | (Private) | |
| 4. | 785 Badri Lal Mathur | Jiwan Lal | Jodhpur (Private) | Do. |
| 5. | 807 Dayal Dass | Kedar Nath | Do. | Do. |
| | Purohit | Purohit. | | |
| 6. | 816 Gulba Ram | Sadaji Rawal | Palari (Sirohi) | Do.. |
| | S. Rawal | | Private | |
| 7. | 850 Kishore Singh | Dharam Singh | Sirohi (Private) | Do. |
| | Rathor | Rathor | | |
| 8. | 2736 Ram Kumar Shri- | Mithoo Lal | Bhopal (Private) | Do, |
| | vastava | Shrivastava | | |
| 9. | 3062 Amba Swarup | Har Swarup | Govt. High School, | Do. |
| | Simlote | Simlote | Ajmer. | |
| 10. | 4427 Ummed Singh | Kishore Singh | Narayan High | Do. |
| | Sodha | Sodha | School, Bijai-
nagar (Ajmer). | |
| 11. | 5554 Anant Parkash | Odai Bhan | Hamida High | Do. |
| | Shrivastava | Verma | School, Bhopal | |

(G.D. WIDHANI)

*Secretary,*Central Board of Secondary
Education, Ajmer.

KARNATAK UNIVERSITY

Notification No. 376 of—1952

It is hereby notified that the undermentioned candidates who have been found guilty of having used unfair means at the University Examinations held in the first half of 1952, are hereby declared, to have failed at those examinations and to have forfeited their claims to exemptions, if any, earned this year or in previous years and are further debarred from appearing at any College or University Examinations before the date mentioned against each :—

Seat No.	Name of the candidate	College	Date
F.E. Examination			
81.	K. Krishnan Nair	B.V.B. Engineering College, Hubli.	1st January, 1954
B.A. Examination			
14.	Kenchappa Parasappa Kanchikeri	K. E. Board's College, Dharwar	1st January, 1956.
Dharwar 21st July, 1952.			Sd./Illegible Registrar.

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY (SOLAN)

(Simla Hills)

Memo. No. 12963-13063/52-G

Solon, the 24th July, 1952.

The Principals of all affiliated Colleges.

Memorandum

The Principal, Arya College, Ludhiana, vide his letter No. 1733, dated June 26, 1952, has informed this office that the following student of the Second-year class of his College has been rusticated for repeated thefts of books, clothings, a watch and a pen etc., for a period of one year with effect from 26th, June 1952. This may please be noted.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Name	Father's name
1 (College Roll No. 322)	51-al-339	Kuljit Singh	S. Rajinder Singh

TRILOCHAN SINGH,

Assistant Registrar (Co-ordination).

for Registrar.

THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH.

Notification No. 30.

I have the honour to inform you that the following candidates, having been found guilty of using unfair means at the Examinations, have been debarred from appearing at any Examination of this University for the period noted against their names :—

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Examination	Name of candidate	Father or Guardian's name (with address)	Period upto which debarred
113	C3924	B.Sc. Engg. II Year	Rajender Kumar Kashyap	Girdhari Lal Kashyap, Ticket Collector, E. I. Ry., Aligarh	Upto 1953 Exam. (inclusive)
227	C3200	Int. Sc.	Mohd. Mujtaba Ahmad	Mohd. Shafi Ahmed, Compounder, Monghyr	Do.
228	C2099	Int. Sc.	Mohd. Jamilur Rahman	Mohd. Lutfur Rahman, Lodhi Katra, Patna city	Do.
239	C6726	Int. Sc.	Mohd. Jamil Akhtar	Mohd. Siddique, Pleader, Kishan-gunj, Purnea (Behar)	Do.
470	C1026	Int. Sc.	Suresh Chandra Saxena	Bhagwat Swaroop Saxena, Mahabir-gunj, Aligarh.	Do.
85	C8847	B.A. Part I	Miss Asia Khatoon Qureshi	Mohd. Qamruddin Qureshi, Asstt. Master, Govt. Higher Secondary School, Deoria.	Do.
	C9318	B.Sc. Class	Chattar Pal Singh Verma	Shri Tan Pal Singh Bhola Shankars' Quarters, Raghbirpuri, Aligarh.	Expelled for submitting forged certificates at the time of admission and not to be allowed to appear at any examination in future.

(Sd.) Illegible,
Registrar.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD-DECCAN

Notification. Dated 2nd July, 1952.

(A) The Committee of Examinations has found the undermentioned candidates guilty of malpractice (actually copying or having inserted written-sheets or substituted the answer-books) at the University Examinations held in April, 1952 and has resolved that these candidates be rusticated for two years and the results of the candidates at the University Examinations held in April 1952, be cancelled. They can appear at the respective Examinations of the University to be held in April 1954.

INTERMEDIATE (ARTS)

Roll No.	Name of Candidate	Father's Name
2346	Mohd. Musa Raza Mohajir	Mohd. Abdul Wahab Qadri
3411	Dwantham Venkat Narasimha Chari	Dwantham Venkayya Chari
3440	Gopalakrishna Kruthivent	Sarveswara Rao
3470	K. Narayan Reddy	K. Narasimha Reddy
3579	B. Sham Rao	B. Venkat Krishnam
3868	Khaja Moinuddin	Mohd. Waziruddin
3940	B. Venkat Ram Narsiah	B. Raghva Rao

INTERMEDIATE (SCIENCE)

1025	Syed Anwar Shareef	Syed Akbar Shareef
1028	Mohd. A. Rasheed Khan Khalidi	Mohd. A. Rahman Khan Khalidi

B.A.				
Roll No.	Name of Candidates			Father's Name
1182	R. Shiva Shankar	...	...	Narayan
1276	S. Narayan Rao	...	...	Raghavender Rao

B.Sc.

178	B. Ravinder Reddy	...	...	B. Ramchander Reddy
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M.A. (PREVIOUS)

122	Venkata Ramanammy Sripada	...	...	Buchanna Pantulu Sripada
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LL.B. (PREVIOUS)

122	T. Mohan Reddy	...	...	T. Malla Reddy
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(B) The Committee of Examinations has found the undermentioned candidates guilty of malpractice (in possession of written matter pertaining to the question paper) at the University Examinations held in April, 1952 and has resolved that these candidates be rusticated for one year and the results of the candidates at the University Examinations held in April, 1952, be cancelled. They can appear at the respective Examinations of the University to be held in April, 1953.

INTERMEDIATE (ARTS)

3052	Subrahmanyam G. V.	...	...	Veera Raghaviah G.
4064	Shema Siddiqi	...	...	Hamid Hasan Siddiqi

INTERMEDIATE (SCIENCE)

181	N. Vasundhara	...	...	N. Veeraswamy
198	M. V. Subhadra	...	...	M. Varda Rao
883	Prabhaker	...	...	Bhanudas Rao

B.A.

930	Arifuddin	...	...	Bashiruddin Ahmed Qureshi
1254	Aijaz Husain Farooqi	...	...	Nazeer Husain Farooqi

B.Sc.

88	Jagjivan Pershad Mehra	...	...	Suraj Pershad Mehra
330	Mohan Pershad	...	...	Janki Pershad

M.A. (FINAL)

132	Baderunnisa Begum	...	...	Gulam Mohiuddin Khan
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B.E. II (CIVIL)

171	Chavali Ramagopala Murty	...	...	Krishnamurty
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By order of the Vice-Chancellor.
K. VEDANTHA CHARY,
Controller of Examinations.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA

NOTIFICATION

The following candidates, having resorted to unfair means at the University examinations of 1952, are hereby debarred from appearing at any examination of the University as noted against each :

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of the Candidate.	Institution (Place of residence in the case of non-collegiate candidates).	Punishment awarded.
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M.Sc. (Previous)

21	5715	Kushal Chandra Bhandari.	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	Present examination cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953.
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B.A.

393	48/873	Ranjeet Singh T. Bhandari.	Jaaswant College, Jodhpnr.	Do.
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B.Sc.

271	3885	Kaloo Ram Sais (Ex-student)	M. B. College, Udaipur.	Do.
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S.E.

124	4857	Tara Chand Jain.	Birla Engg. College, Pilani.	Present examination cancelled and further debarred from appear- ing at any examinations of the University to be held in 1953 and 1954.
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INTERMEDIATE (Arts)

445	91/447	Keshar Deo Pareek.	Jhunjhunu (private).	Present examination cancelled & further debarred from appearing at any examination of the Uni- versity upto and including the examination of 1957.
1335	50/2065	Madan Lal Sharma (Primus).	Rai Rishi College, Alwar.	Present examination cancelled & further debarred from appearing at any examination of the Uni- versity to be held in 1953.

INTERMEDIATE (Science)

254	49/1459	Sah Prem Narain Jain.	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	Do.
620	49/1690	Manek Lal Mathur.	Jaaswant College, Jodhpur.	Do.
685	50/1025	Radey Shyam Sarda	Do.	Do.
943	50/1673	Brij Mohan Sharma	Herbert College, Kotah.	Do.
966	50/1725	Mohendra Mohan Saxena.	Do.	Do.

Sd./Illegible.

I/c. Registrar,

Jaipur,
June 27, 1952.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA.

NOTIFICATIONS OF THE GUJARAT UNIVERSITY.

No. 17629 1952.

Corrigendum.

In the Notification No. 17401 of 1952 dated 12-7-1952 giving the names of the candidates who have been debarred, under *Inter Commerce Examinations, 1952*, please READ "96 Sutaria Mahendrakumar Dhogilal, Com.A. 31.12.1953.

for
196. Shah Dhirajlal Champaklal, Com.A. 31-12-1953."

Ahmedabad—9

Dt. 14th July, 1952.

Sd./Illegible.
Registrar.

No. 17401 of 1952

It is hereby notified that the undermentioned candidates who have been found guilty of having practised unfair means at the University Examinations held in March/April, 1952, are declared to have failed at the respective examinations, have forfeited their claims to

exemptions, if any, earned by them at the Examinations held this year or in any previous year and that they are further debarred from appearing at any University or College Examination before the dates mentioned against their respective names.

INTER ARTS EXAMINATION, MARCH, 1952

Roll No.	Candidate's Name.	College	Debarred upto.
599	Trivedi Pranjivan Jagannath	S.L.D.	31-12-1953
640	Dixit Mohendraprasad Shivshanker	S.L.D.	31-12-1953

INTER SCIENCE EXAMINATION, MARCH, 1952

249	Shah Jagjivan Vadilal	S.L.D.	31-12-1953
1113	Patel Ramanbhai Mangalbhai	Patlad	31-12-1953
1314	Choitharamani Dayalsingh Vishindas	M.T.B.	31-12-1953

INTER COMMERCE EXAMINATION, MARCH, 1952

140	Jhaveri Arvindkumar Rameshchandra	Com A.	31-12-1953
196	Shah Dhirajlal Champaklal	Com.A.	31-12-1953

B.A. (Special) EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1952

184	Shah Manubhai Mohanlal	S.L.D.	31-12-1953
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B.Sc. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1952 :

945	Kothawala Kantilal Chhaganlal	M.T.B.	31-12-1953
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SECOND LL.B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1952

87	Patel Bhogilal Kanjibhai	Sir L.	31-12-1953
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F.E. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1952

42	Nowsheri Gulammohammad Ghr. Ahmed	L.D.C.E.	31-12-1953
227	Patel Bachubhai Khushalbhai	B.V.M.	31-12-1953

Ahmedabad—9

12th July, 1952.

Sd./Illegible
Registrar,

UNIVERSITY OF GUJRAT.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Proceedings of the Syndicate

No. S2-2851-52.

Walter : 14th July, 1952.

Subject :—Misconduct at Examination—March-April, 1952—candidate with Regd. No. 4416 for Intermediate Examination—Debarred for 2 years reconsideration of.

ORDER

The result of K. Bhimaraju, candidate with Regd. No. 4416 for the Intermediate examination held in March-April, 1952, is cancelled and he is permitted to sit for the Intermediate Examination to be held in September, 1952, and thereafter.

(By order)
Sd./Illegible
Dy. Registrar.

No. F. 8/38-51/E.

UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

Post Box No. 186, Dholpur House, New Delhi, the 14 July, 1952.

From

The Secretary,
Union Public Service Commission

To

The Secretaries to the State Public Service Commissions,
The Registrars of all Universities.

Subject :—Exclusion of Shri Shyam Sunder Bhardwaj (Roll No. 1225—Military Wing July, 1951, Examination) from Examinations and Selections conducted by the Union Public Service Commission.

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith for information a copy of the Commission's letter of even number dated the 16th June, 1952, on the subject noted above.

Your's faithfully
(P. Sitaramon)Under-Secretary,
Union Public Service Commission.

No. F. 8/38/51-E.

UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

Post Box No. 186, Dholpur House, New Delhi, the 16th/19th June, 1952.

From

The Secretary,
Union Public Service Commission,

To

1. The Director, Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi.
2. The Dy. Inspector General, C.I.D., Punjab, Simla.
3. The Supdt. of Police, Hissar-Delhi.

Subject :—Exclusion of Shri Shyam Sunder Bhardwaj (Roll No. 1225—Military Wing July, 1951 Examination) from Examinations and Selections conducted by the Union Public Service Commission.

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that the Union Public Service Commission have debarred Shri Shyam Sunder Bhardwaj from applying for all Examinations and Selections to be conducted by them in future. The particulars of the candidate given below :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Name of candidate. | Shyam Sunder Bhardwaj. |
| 2. Examination for which he was a candidate. | Examination for admission to the Military Wing of the National Defence Academy held in July, 1951. |
| 3. Place of birth. | Hissar, Punjab. (822) |
| 4. Date of birth. | 10th September, 1931. |
| 5. Father's name and address. | Shree M. R. Bhardwaj, House No. 4095, Kaseru Wali Gali, Pahar Ganj, New Delhi. |
| 6. Reasons for debarring. | Copied from this script of another candidate in the Military Wing Examination held in July, 1951. |

His candidature for the Military Wing Examination held in July, 1951, has been cancelled.

Yours faithfully,
B. Shukla.

Union Public Service Commission.

BOARD OF HIGH SCHOOL AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION, UTTAR PRADESH

The following candidates having attempted to use unfair means at the Board's Examinations of 1952, have been penalised as noted against each.

N.B.—These candidates are allowed by the Director of Education, Uttar Pradesh, to study in an educational institution for continued tuition, but are not entitled to appear in the Board's Examinations prior to the expiry of the period for which they have been debarred.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
1	2	3	4	5
289	Yaduvansh Narain Singh Tyagi.	Raghuvansh Narain Singh	Birla Vidya Mandir, Naini Tal	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953.
1916	Raghubir Singh Sharma	Mangat Singh	Hindu Intermediate College, Kandhla (Muzaffarnagar) Centre.	Do.
2684	Vikram Dutt Vatsa	Raghubir Dutt	Faiz-i-am Intermediate College, Meerut	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952.
2708	Harish Chand Gupta	Ram Swarup Vais	Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953.
3865	Ishwar Chand	Manphool Singh	D. Jain Intermediate College, Baraut Centre	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952
7748	Chandra Mohan Ray	Raja Ram	A. K. College, Shikohabad Centre	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953.
8738	Rama Shanker Saxena	Ulfat Rai	Hafiz Siddiqui Islamia Intermediate College, Budaun Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952.
8842	Saidur Rahman Habibi	Ubaidur Rahman	Do.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953
9318	Baljeet Singh	Ram Swarup	K. G. K. College, Moradabad Centre.	Do.
9343	Jai Prakash Singh	Baldeo Prasad	Do.	Do.
9348	Kailash Kumar Gupta	Ram Chandra	Do.	Do.
9399	Ram Krishna Lal	Banarsi Lal	Do.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952.
9450	Raj Narain	Harsumitan Lal	Do.	Do.
9592	Ramesh Chandra Arya	Shyam Sunder Lal Arya	Do.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953
10923	Daya Shanker Pandey	Sabbajit Pandey	Christ Church College, Kanpur Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.

10994	Ram Krishna Sharma	Khushi Ram	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
11104	Jitendra Pratap	Ram Narain Vidyarthi	D. A. V. College, Kanpur Centre	Do.
12073	Madhav Singh Shisondia	Narain Singh	Government Higher Secondary School, Kanpur Centre.	Do.
12636	O. E. Camester	S. L. Camester	Halim Muslim Intermediate College, Kanpur Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
12757	Sheikh Mohammad Farooq Abdul Mejeed Siddiqi		Do.	Do.
13091	Pushpa Nigam	Tej Bahadur Nigam	Municipal Girls' Intermediate College, Kanpur Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953
13104	(Km.) Shakuntala Pal	F. Ram J. M. D.	Do	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
13165	(Sm.) Kamla Khanna	Vishambhar Nath Kapoor	Do	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
12698	Ram Chandar Agarwal	Ghasita Lal Agarwal	Government Intermediate College, Allahabad Centre.	Do.
14437	Badri Narain Pandeya	Bamanji Pandeya	C. A. V. Intermediate College, Allahabad Centre.	Do.
14924	Sita Devi	Raghubir Sahai	D. P. Girls' Intermediate College, Allahabad Centre.	Do.
14965	Madhuri Devi	Gauri Shanker	Do.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952.
16100	Akadasi Ram	Jhemar	State Salal College, Banaras Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
16394	Bhagwati Prasad	Ram Govind Prasad	Queens Inter. College Science	Do.
17380	Ravindra Nath Pandey	Dwarika Pandey	D. A. V. Intermediate College, Banaras Centre.	Do.
18577	Lal Bahadur Chaubey	Sankatha Chaubey	Satish Chandra College, Ballia Centre.	Do.
19784	Rama Shanker Shukla	Brahmdeo Shukla	U. N. K. Higher Secondary School Padrauna Centre.	Do.
20574	Barati Lal	Mahabir Prasad	Lucknow Christian College, Lucknow Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953.
20744	Syed Hifazat Husain	Murtaza Husain	Do.	Do.
21681	(Sm.) Surya Mukhi Agnihotri.	Bhawani Shanker Agnihotri	D. A. V. College, Lucknow Centre.	Do.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
1	2	3	4	5
21699	(Su.) Vidyawati Pratihya Bhagwandin Agnihotri		D. A. V. College, Lucknow Centre.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952
23294	Jaya Ram Shukla	Bhagauti Prasad	Government Intermediate College, Faizabad Centre.	Do.
26619	Inderjit Singh	Hari Singh	D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
26709	Ajab Singh Negi	Gabar Singh Negi	Do.	Do.
26728	Bharat Singh I	Harbanash Singh	Do.	Do.
26734	Brij Bhushan Karnatak	Tara Dutt Karnatak	Do.	Do.
26828	Mor Singh Pokhriyal	Antar Singh Pokhriyal	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
26898	Rabindra Nath Satuja	Vishwa Nath	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
27047	Surendra Singh Oberoi	Attar Singh Oberoi	Do.	Do.
27172	Gian Prakash	Navnit Lal	S. G. N. P. Higher Secondary School, Dehra Dun.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952.
27377	Surat Singh Rana	Dhan Singh Rana	St. George's College, Mussoorie	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953.
27673	Birendra Kumar Jain	Dhamar Chand Jain	S. D. College and K. R. High School, Saharanpur.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953.
29085	Om Prakash Yadava	Mool Chand Yadava	Meerut College, Meerut	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952
29137	Ram Kumar Singh	Ranjit Singh	Do.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
29214	Ved Prakash Kansal	Bishamber Sahai Agarwal	Do.	Do.
29404	Anoop Singh	Dharam Singh	D. N. Intermediate College, Meerut	Do.
30900	Chiranjee Lal Saxena	Sankar Lal	D. A. V. College, Bulandshahr	Do.
31038	Oncendra Prakash Mathur	Pateh Chand Mathur	Do.	Do.
31577	Digpal Singh Shrohi	Dadan Singh	A. S. Jat College, Lakhnauti	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952.
32456	Shiv Shankar	Laxmi Narain	C. A. Intermediate College, Mathura	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
32852	Milan Behari Gaur	Ram Gopal Gaur	Municipal Intermediate College, Vrindaban	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952
32996	(Km.) Nalin Gunjatkar	P. B. Gunjatkar	St. John's College, Agra	Do.
32997	Narendra Kumar Agarwal	O. P. Agrawal	Do.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.

33285	Birennra Kumar Jain	Kishan Lal	Agra College, Agra	Do.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
33574	Vimla Kumar Jain	Sant Kumar Jain	Agrawal Intermediate College, Agra	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
33633	Indra Pal Singh	A. S. Siddhu	R. E. Institute, Dayal Bagh, Agra.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
34274	Keshav Deo Sharma	Shiv Kumar Shastri	Narsain Intermediate College, Shikohabad.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
34279	Niranjan Nath Parashar	Kedar Nath Parashar	Do.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
34537	Shiv Prasad Kersolia	Ragbunnath Prasad Kersolia	A. K. College, Shikohabad	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
35095	Krishna Chandra Arya	Shyam Charan	Bareilly College, Bareilly	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
35191	Saiyid Latif Ahmad	Abdul Rahman Hanif	Islamia Inter. College, Bareilly	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
35271	Parneshari Singh Rathore	Har Prasad Singh Rathore	H. S. Islamia Intermediate College, Budapn	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
35533	Basheshwar Dayal	Jagannath Prasad Bhatnagar	Hindu Intermediate College, Nagina.	Do.	Do.
35555	Budh Singh	Sujan Singh	Do.	Do.	Do.
35607	Mathura Singh Kashyap	Nanjit Singh	Do.	Do.	Do.
35871	Aftab Husain Kureishi	Tajamul Husain	Coronation Hindu Degree College, Moradabad	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
35911	Onker Singh	Girdhari Singh	Do.	Do.	Do.
36026	Sant Ram Singh Yadav	Ram Prasad Singh Yadav	S. S. K. H. S. School, Moradabad	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
36252	Deoki Nandan Varsbney	Bhagwan Dass Varsbney	S. M. College, Chandani	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
36305	Ram Prakas Agrawal	Raja Ram	Do.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
36364	Nanak Chand Tyagi	Ram Chandra Singh Tyagi	D. S. M. Intermediate College, Kanth, Moradabad.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953 and 1954.
36405	Tayyab Husain	Muzaffar Husain	J. S. Hindu Higher Secondary School, Amroha.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
36565	Anand Prakash Garg	Gokul Prasad Agrawal	Gandhi Faiz-i-am College, Shahjahanpur.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
36728	Amar Nath	Mast Ram	Drummond Government Higher Secondary School, Pilibhit.	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
37447	Charanjit Singh Bedi	S. Kartar Singh Bedi	Christ Church College, Kanpur	Do.	Do.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
1	2	3	4	5
37499	Shib Nath Tandon	Bhola Nath Tandon	Christ Church College, Kanpur	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
37505	S. Azharul Husain Naqvi	S. Mazharul Hasan Naqvi	Do.	Do.
37624	Ramesh Chandra Padha	Bankey Lal	D. A. V. College, Kanpur	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
37794	Nirmal Sharan Dixit	Bisheshwar Dayal Dixit	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
37955	Gur Prasad Nigam	Devi Prasad Nigam	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
38087	Shyam Ji Nigam	Ratan Lal Nigam	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
38098	Surendra Kumar Agrawal	Bankey Behari Lal	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
38483	Shree Nath Pandey	Kunj Behari Pandey	B. N. S. D. College, Kanpur	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
38694	Daya Ram Tripathi	Barati Lal Tripathi	Agriculture College, Kanpur	Do.
38699	Harish Chandra Mathur	Lakshmi Prasad Mathur	Do.	Do.
38711	Mahendra Pal Singh	Mal Singh	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
39226	(Sm.) Yogmaya Agnihotri	Shyam Lal Pathak	S. N. S. Balika Vidyalaya, Kanpur	Do.
39623	Radhey Shyam Gupta	R. G. Gupta	A. B. Intermediate College, Allahabad	Do.
39637	Ram Shiva Singh 'Kant'	Thakur Singh	Do.	Do.

39697	Syed Manjud Husain	...	Syed Hamid Husain	...	Majidia Islamia Intermediate College, Allahabad.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
40114	Syed Mukhtar Husain, Abidi	...	Syed Iqbal Husain	...	Ewing Christian College, Allahabad	Do.
40538	Madan Mohan Gupta	...	Kamal Narayan Gupta	...	K. P. Intermediate College, Allahabad	Do.
40898	Rajendra Gupta	...	Kalyan Singh Gupta	...	C. A. V. Intermediate College, Allahabad	Do.
40944	Surendra Kumar Jain	...	Rakhab Das Jain	...	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
41557	Mohammad Abdul Rahim	...	Mohammad Ibrahim	...	Bipin Behari Intermediate College, Jhansi.	Disqualified for Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
41976	Kailash Nath Srivastava	...	Suraj Nath Lal	...	Queen's Intermediate College, Banaras	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
43128	Satya Narain Tiwari	...	Ebagwan Tiwari	...	E. I. B. Higher Secondary School, Mughalsarai.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for Intermediate Examination of 1953.
43139	Dilip Kumar Singha Roy	...	Ranjit Singha Roy	...	Do.	Do.
43387	Ram Pyare Mani	...	Kodai Tewari	...	P. D. N. D. Intermediate College, Chunar.	Do.
44796	Mohan Prasad Gupta	...	Ram Ji Prasad	...	M. G. College, Gorakhpur	Do.
44830	Sachidanand Misra	...	Chandrabhal Misra	...	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
44903	Chandrika Prasad Singh...	...	Babban Singh	...	Maharana Pratap Degree College, Gorakhpur.	Do.
45280	Abul Kalam	...	Mohammad Aqil	...	K. G. Intermediate College, Barhaj (Deoria).	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
45300	Kapil Deo Prasad Gupta	...	Ram Das Gupta	...	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952.
45314	Ram Dayal Yadava	...	Brij Lal Rawat	...	Do.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
45510	Goverdhan Prasad Gupta	...	Ram Das	...	B. N. Intermediate College, Majhanli Raj (Deoria).	Do.
45513	Kailash Chandra Srivastava,	...	Raghunandan Lal Srivastava	...	Do.	Do.
45598	Yatendra Nath	...	Iswari Narain	...	A. S. High School and G. R. S. College, Basti.	Do.
45947	Hari Mohan Saxena	...	Murli Manohar Saxena	...	Government Jubilee Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Do.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
1	2	3	4	5
46188	Prakash Chandra Misra ...	Ram Chandra Misra ...	M. D. Shukla Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Do.
46284	Alakundu Banerji ...	Harindra Nath Banerji ...	Lucknow Christian College, Lucknow	Do.
46354	Raghunath Prasad Ag-rawal.	Bankey Lal Agrawal ...	Do.	*Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
48948	Hari Narain Saxena ...	Hriday Narain Saxena...	R. R. D. Intermediate College, Sitapur ...	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.
48651	Surendra Kumar Jain ...	Prem Sagar Jain ...	Government Intermediate College, Faizabad.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952
48967	Shafatullah Khan ...	Bashrat Ullah Khan ...	Thompson Intermediate College, Gonda ...	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination of 1952 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1953.

The following action has been taken against the candidates for the Intermediate Examination of 1952, for reasons noted against each.

Roll No.	Name of the candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Reason	Punishment
586	Dalbir Singh ...	Tara Singh ...	D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun Centre.	Concealment of fact of his previous schooling.	Intermediate Examination of 1952 cancelled and debarred for the Intermediate Examinations of 1953 and 1954.
1009	Ram Swarup Dixit ...	Hari Saran Dixit ...	Sri Guru Nanak Public Higher Secondary School, Dehra Dun Centre.	Do.	Intermediate Examination of 1952 cancelled.
9675	Madan Lal Malhotra	Pirbhavi Chand Malhotra.	S. M. College, Chandausi Centre	Do.	Do.
11180	Nirmal Chand Jain ...	Prem Sukh Jain ...	D. A. V. College, Kanpur Centre	Impersonated by Radha Krishna Maheshwari.	Do.
13915	S. P. Ferns ...	Sebastian Ferns ...	E. C. College, Ailahabad Centre	Not-eligible ...	Do.
34365	Lal Ram Gupta ...	Dina Nath Gupta ...	A. K. College, Shikohabad ...	Under Regulation 8, Chapter XII of Board's Regulations.	Do.

A. K. SANYAL, Secretary.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA

NOTIFICATION

The under-mentioned candidates, having resorted to unfair means at the High School Examination of 1952, are hereby debarred from appearing at any examination of the University as noted against each :—

Roll No.	Name	Institution or place (in the case of private candidate) from where appeared.	Year for which debarred
1	2	3	4
1090	Abdul Razak	Muslim High School, Jaipur	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953.
1102	Mohd. Aziz Khan	Do.	Do.
1254	Abdul Munir	Jaipur	Do.
1342	Gavardhan Lal Sharma	Jaipur	Do.
1365	Hari Dass Rathi	Jaipur	Do.
1615	Prem Kumar Bhutnagar	Darbar High School, Jaipur	Examination of 1952 cancelled.
1814	Mangi Lal Mathur	Jaipur	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953 and 1954.
1822	Mohan Lal Purohit	Jaipur	Examination of 1952 cancelled.
1828	Moti Lal Sharma	Beigarh (Alwar)	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953 and 1954.
2000	Uday Singh Shekhawat	Shri Bhawani Niketan, Jaipur West	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953.
2177	Ram Krishan Sharma	Jaipur	Do.
2642	Har Dayal Sharma	Sikar (Jaipur)	Do.
2997	Bagh Singh Shekhawat	B.L. High School, Bagar	Do.
3463	Bheru Lal Manihar	Fateh High School, Udaipur	Do.
3530	Durga Lal Mathur	Do.	Do.
3560	Gyaneshwar Bhatt	Do.	Do.
3760	Makham Singh Kelhari	Do.	Do.
4323	Lila Dhar Changwal	Lamberdar High School, Udaipur	Do.
4664	Bhagwati Lal Dosi	Govt. Inter. College, Banswara	Do.
4768	Brij Lal Jain	Banswara	Do.
4864	Hari Lal Suthar	Govt. Inter. College, Bhilwara	Do.
4970	Krishna Chandra Agarwal	Do.	Do.
4975	Laloo Ram Sharma	Do.	Do.
5579	Ghan Shyam Dutta	Yashwant High School, Alwar	Do.

5599	Jitendra Singh Buxi	Do.	Do.
6758	Din Dayal Trivedi	Jodhpur	Do.
6876	Harish Chandra S. Mathur	Sir Pratap High School, Jodhpur	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953 and 1954.
6881	Kailash Lal G. Mathur	Do.	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953.
6907	Narain Lal B. Mathur	Do.	Do.
6934	Ravinder Nath Kacker	Do.	Do.
6943	Shree Krishan Purohit	Do.	Do.
7948	Daljit Datta Chowdhury	Sadul High School, Bikaner	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953 and 1954.
10685	Syed Zaheer Ahmad Hashmi	Saadat High School, Vimbhera	Examination of 1952 cancelled and further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in 1953.
Jaipur, J.		R. K. AGARWAL,	
18th, July 1952.		<i>I/c Registrar,</i>	
		University of Rajputana.	

UNIVERSITY OF SIND

Circular No. 14.

No. Ex. 1985 of 1952.
University of Sind.
Hyderabad, Sind D. 9. 7. 1952.

I have the honour to inform you that the following candidates have been debarred from admission to the University and from appearing at any

Examination and ruseficated for the period noted against each of them for using unfair means at the annual Examination, 1952, of this University or for other reasons as mentioned against each :—

8. Seat No.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Ghulam Sarvar.	H. Ghulam Hussain.	Chajro.	M.A. (Prev.)	Govt. College, Hyderabad.	Debarred from admission to the University, and from appearing at any Examination for a period of two years viz. 1951-52 and 1952-53.	A piece of paper containing notes on the paper of Islamic History was found in his possession and he was caught copying.	
2.	408 Mohammad Ali.	Mohammad Din.	Shaikh.	Passed the Matriculation Examination in March 1951.	Noor Mohd. High School, Hyderabad.	He should not be allowed to take admission in any college and if he applies for admission the Principal of the college should immediately report the matter to the University authorities.	He has made forgery in his Matriculation certificate issued to him on 20-2-1952.	
3.	24 Mir Muhammad.	Abdul Gafoor.	Siyal.	First LL. B.	Hyd : Law. College.	Result of the candidate has been cancelled.	A piece of paper was found in his possession in the Examination Hall.	Mohammad Husain Registrar, University of Sind, Hyderabad (Sind).

THE UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR, SRINAGAR.

Notification No. 1/Misc. of 1952-

The following candidates have been disqualified from passing any examination for having used unfair means at the annual examination held in 1952, shown below, for the period and under the Statute (Chapter XXXIII—Section C—Conduct of Examinations), shown against each:—

S. No.	Roll No.	Regd. No.	Name of the candidate	Father's name	Residence or institution from which appeared.	Period for and the Statute under which disqualified.
1. <i>Matriculation Examination.</i>						
1.	46		Sheik Hamidullah	Mr. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din	Govt. Inter. College, Sopore, Kashmir.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute II (b)
2.	67		Makhan Lal Bakshi	Mr. Shridhar Joo Bakshi	Govt. Inter. College, Sopore, Kashmir.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute II (b)
3.	710		Lalita Kumari Wakhloo	Pt. Sham Sunder Wakhloo	Vasanta Girls' High School, Women's Welfare Trust, Srinagar.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute II (b)
4.	726		Reihana	Mr. Gulam Mohamad	Do.	Two years (1952) & 1953) Under Addl. Statute II (b)
5.	1682		Shaukat Ali Khan	Mr. Afia Mohd. Khan	S.A. High School, Bhadarwah.	One year (1952 only) Under Addl. Statute II (a)
6.	1727		Charanjit Lal	L. Dhani Ram	Govt. High School, Kathua.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute II (b)
7.	1908		Chander Perkash Sharma	Pt. Krishan Nath	Model Academy, Jammu	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute II (b)
8.	2634		Bansi Lal Kachroo	Mr. Nanak Chand Kachroo	Narpatistan, 3rd Bridge, Srinagar.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute 12.
9.	2719		Abdul Hamid Baba Kh.	Mohamad Baba Mirjan Pora,	Nawakadal, Srinagar.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute 12.
10.	2859		Shantia Kumari Kaul	Pt. Perkash Ram	Kara Pora, Rainawari, Srinagar.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute 12.

No.	Roll No.	Regd. No.	Name of the candidate	Father's name	Residence or institution from which appeared.	Period for & the Statute under which disqualified.
<i>2. Intermediate Examination.</i>						
11.	158	1210-S-51	Bashir Ahmad Wada	Kh. Gulam Mohi-ud-Din	S.P. College, Srinagar.	Two years (1952 & 1953) Under Addl. Statute II (b)
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